The Italian madrigal, 1620-1655.

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Volume One

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ABSTRACT

Many authors have been inclined to overlook the madrigal after ca. 1620: some view the history of music as a linear evolution rather than cross-fertilisation of several genres; others are confused as to the very identity of the madrigal. These issues are addressed, in the latter case, by redefining the madrigal according to contemporary standards, and in the former, by a discussion of the music which shows that the madrigal remained a lively forum for the development of new musical techniques for some thirty years after its alleged demise.

That the madrigal lost its former pre-eminence during the seventeenth century cannot, however, be disputed. Chapters on historical background and on publishing history help to trace some of the general factors in this decline, while details of the circumstances relevant to particular composers are covered in the main body of the dissertation. Geographical coverage of large numbers of composers and patrons has cast new light upon such important figures as Monteverdi and Mazzocchi. Discussion of a group of lyric poems and their settings shows some effect of developments in literary aesthetics upon contemporary music. Comment is also made on the relationships between the madrigal, the cantata and the other forms found within the madrigal-books.

The discussion concentrates on the madrigal for three or more voices, commenting where necessary on the madrigals for one or two voices which have been covered elsewhere. Resources have not permitted consultation of many non-musical primary sources, but a wide range of secondary material has been used, some of it for the first time in a work on music. The appendices include a listing of corrections to *Il nuovo Vogel* and performable transcriptions of more than forty works.

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PREFACE

The aim of this dissertation is to provide a general picture of the madrigal after 1620 which could form the basis for a more detailed examination of individual composers or regions. To do so I have examined as much of the music as possible, drawing on secondary sources to build up a context for the works, region by region. I have also provided background chapters on historiography, political and economic history, publishing and literary trends. Most manuscript works, and those not in madrigal-books, have been excluded, as has detailed discussion of works for one and two voices, while time and resources have not permitted archival research other than examination of printed music.

To give a detailed account of the generous assistance I have received from many friends and colleagues while writing this dissertation would almost require an entire chapter: I limit myself here to a few brief acknowledgements. Brian Trowell, Graham Dixon, David Butchart and Lorenzo Bianconi all produced invaluable contacts for me in the early stages of my research. I was able to consult the card-indexes held by Angelo Pompilio (chronological reorganisation of RISM) and Antonio Vassalli (attributions of texts in a joint project with Bianconi and Pompilio), while Tim Carter and Catherine Moore both supplied me with copies of their unpublished research as well as many provocative ideas. Jerome Roche and many others patiently responded to my written queries, and Patrizio Barbieri kindly sent me off-prints of articles I was unable to trace in London. Thanks must, of course, go to some fifteen libraries in the UK and Italy, and to their staff: my research was also greatly facilitated by access to John Whenham's collection of microfilms.

I also wish to thank the music staff at King's College, London, for a rigorous but rewarding Master's year and much subsequent support: while it was at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, that I first gained an interest in musicology and a grounding in Italian language and literature - particular thanks to Peter Walls, David Groves, Greer Garden and J.M. Thomson. My study in the UK would have been impossible without a three-year Commonwealth Scholarship, which was stretched to allow me funds for some research in Italy. My supervisor, Brian Trowell, has zealously fought against obscurity in my writing. Any faults which have managed to survive such plentiful assistance are entirely my own.

A NOTE ON STYLE

Orthography in contemporary sources varies considerably: I have modernised i/j and u/v usage and, where necessary, tacitly extended abbreviations, but alteration of spelling, accentuation and punctuation has generally been avoided in prose texts. I hope that the provision of translations will counter any confusion the reader may experience as a result. I have reserved "[*sic*]" for items which the reader might find difficult to believe, such as apparent errors of grammar or of fact. The abbreviation "V.S." for "Vostra Signoria" generally fills the function of the modern formal "lei" which derives from it: I have therefore translated it as "you": where more specific abbreviated titles occur, such as "V.A.S." for "Vostra Altezza Serenissima", I have translated them in full.

References are given throughout as "author, year, volume: page" for items in the bibliography (for articles in encyclopedias, etc., author in abbreviation, volume: page, "title of entry" where this is not the name of the composer under discussion). The numeration of publications in the new or old Vogel catalogues - NV for works by a single composer, OV (as year.number) for anthologies - is also given where appropriate. Cross-references to other parts of the dissertation are generally given as "see volume: page". I have used abbreviations for the number of voices in a book: "a 5" indicating "for five voices", "a 2-4" for "for two to four voices", for example.

I have avoided italicising one-word Italian terms, but have italicised technical phrases of several words, such as *maestro di cappella*, *durezze e ligature*, etc.: terms or phrases taken verbatim from an individual source, however, are given in quotation marks. Titles of complete publications or major works are italicised, while titles of individual pieces, usually the first phrase of text, are given in quotation marks.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The standard work on the history of the madrigal, Einstein's *The Italian madrigal* (1949), makes scant reference to the madrigal after 1620, except to decry it as degenerate and un-madrigalian:

> ...What a sacrifice it has cost! How little is left! A trivial game with triad motifs instead of expressive harmony! An exhibition of the singers' vanity in the solos and in the duets!....Conceived as a form of music-making in company, and in this sense socially conditioned, the old madrigal is dead.[1]

He even spends two pages explaining why he will not discuss Monteverdi's *Concerto: il settimo libro de madrigali* (1619) in a history of the madrigal.[2] This attitude does not arise from ignorance: Einstein had transcribed many madrigals of the 1620-1655 period. But in his three volumes on the subject, Einstein never actually defines what he means by "madrigal".[3]

In the days when music history was usually seen in terms of evolution and progress, it is not surprising that the madrigal, which had supposedly been defeated by the revolutionary ideas of the Florentine "camerata", should be accused of degeneracy. That is, if one bothered to investigate it at all: many assumed that it died immediately when "monody" and opera arrived. Einstein's view, however, is more subtle than this: in the quotation above he even anticipates current thinking by referring to the "social conditioning" of the madrigal. But for him the madrigal is inextricably linked to sixteenth-century polyphony: as the new developments of the seventeenth century do not accord with this criterion, they must be regarded as inferior and unworthy of discussion. This view has persisted in some quarters to the present day. Gary

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1. Einstein 1949, 854.
2. ibid., 863-864.
3. He does, however, quote Bembo on the poetic form, ibid., 117.

Tomlinson, in *Monteverdi and the end of the Renaissance* (1987), forgoes the chance to present a thorough critical appraisal of Monteverdi's later madrigal-books: instead, he continues to deplore the shallowness and triviality of this "Marinist" music as opposed to the "humanist" and therefore intrinsically superior ideas of the earlier books.

This particular bias was avoided by Nigel Fortune and John Whenham in their respective dissertations on solo song and the duet.[4] Each opened up a hitherto neglected repertoire to scholarship and performance, and in many respects the present dissertation is intended as a companion to their researches. Yet, however unintentionally, their work continued to support the evolutionists' belief in the decline and fall of the madrigal through its emphasis upon the development of new forms composed for smaller forces: it was not possible to explore fully the ways in which such developments took place alongside and in conjunction with the continuing development of vocal chamber music for larger forces. Their dissertations thus reinforced the long-standing tendency to partition off the "progressive" forms of "monody" and "duet" from the "conservative" madrigal. That this was not their intention is evident in John Whenham's work, which took him into nearly every book of *concertato* madrigals published before 1643: he not only emphasised that the duets in these madrigal-books are at least as "progressive" as those in the "monody-books", but also stressed the diversity of seventeenth-century music and the need to resist a view "colored...by a preoccupation with opera and solo song".[5] The partitioning persists mainly because there has hitherto been no equally wide-ranging history of the madrigal for three or more voices. This dissertation is intended to supply that history.

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4. Fortune 1954SO, Whenham 1982.
5. Whenham 1982, 3-4.

It is not only the madrigal which has been neglected in seventeenth-century Italian studies. There is still no general history of Italy in the seventeenth century to which the reader may be referred, and I have therefore included as Chapter 2 an outline of the historical background, gleaned for my own use from a wide range of more specialised secondary sources. Without access to a wider perspective it is all too easy to draw erroneous inferences from exceptional cases. For example, I include a brief survey of the workings of the Roman Inquisition because I think that its importance to seventeenth-century music has been exaggerated: too much has been made of the handful of music-books whose poetic texts were censored by over-zealous inquisitors in minor centres.

It is all very well to speak of exaggerated views: can there be objective truth in these matters? For example, at least a third of the repertoire discussed in this dissertation seems irretrievably lost, and another third survives in a form too incomplete to allow detailed analysis and comment. Matters are complicated further by our ignorance as to why sources disappear or survive: is the surviving material exceptional or representative? In these circumstances no generalisation can claim to be authoritative. "Objectivity" is an unattainable goal: historical writing is rendered essentially subjective, not only by the degree of interpretation and hypothesis required to make sense of incomplete source material, but also by the constant process of selection of material which is an integral part of authorship. The more material the historian covers, the more detail is excluded from the history: yet the alternative course, to restrict the area of research, itself involves a process of selection and omission.

Since I do not think that responsible historians should conceal their own biases from their readers, I will explain briefly on what basis the parameters of my topic have been chosen and which arguments underlie my treatment of the material.

Firstly, I have tried to avoid duplicating the work of others: that is why madrigals for one or two voices, which have already been discussed by Fortune, Whenham and others, are here adduced only when they shed light on madrigals for three or more voices. Secondly, as the madrigal's identity in this period is closely connected with its publication, I have not discussed music in manuscript (with the exception of Michelangelo Rossi's madrigals, which were probably prepared with a view to publication). Thirdly, the variety of forms found within the madrigal-books has left me such a rich field for comparing relationships among different musical genres that I have not attempted comprehensive coverage of the relationship between the madrigal and distinct repertoires such as the motet or the manuscript cantata. I have, however, emphasised the existence of a link between madrigal and cantata as I feel the relationship between these genres to be an issue which must eventually be dealt with in detail.

1620 was chosen as a starting-point for a number of reasons. It is the point at which the madrigal - with the exception of works by a very few composers - drops out of most musicological discussions; the point at which the gaps in Einstein's coverage become glaringly obvious. It is the point at which the printed output of madrigals begins to fall, and there is almost a neat "generation gap" between composers active before and after 1620. Lastly, there is Romano's influential suggestion that the Italian economic crisis of 1619 to 1622 should be regarded as the "real" beginning of the *Seicento* from the social-historical perspective.[6a] 1655 soon presented itself as a logical finishing-point, as by this time both of the major Venetian publishers had ceased activity: the next madrigal-books were published in Rome (1660) and Bologna (1661).

6a. Romano 1962.

Although I have thus chosen 1620 as the starting point for this study, information on the madrigal in the decade or so before 1620 is also rather sparse. It is therefore worth considering here the main musical developments in the madrigal from about 1610 as part of the background to the discussion of the post-1620 madrigal in subsequent chapters.

The number of publications of madrigals for five voices remained fairly steady to about 1618: solo songs and duets appear initially to have competed for their market with lighter forms such as the canzonetta.[6b] Although unaccompanied polyphonic madrigals still accounted for about two-thirds of new madrigal publications (excluding publications for solo voice) between 1610 and 1620, by the end of this decade the basso continuo had largely prevailed and the unaccompanied medium was becoming increasingly confined to the south (Naples and Sicily) and to certain circles in Genoa, Tuscany, and Rome.

Although most of Gesualdo's madrigals were probably composed by about 1600, the 1610s saw the first publications of his fifth and sixth books a 5 in 1611 and reprints of the first, second and fifth books in 1616, as well as the reprinting of all his five-voice books in score in Genoa in 1613.[6c] In the south, Gesualdo's example continued to encourage a high level of madrigal composition and publication.[6d] Most composers, however, moderated his more eccentric chromaticisms, dissonances, and disjointed repetition of text.[6e] The tendency towards more sparing use of dissonance and chromaticism and a growing emphasis on declamation were already apparent in the 1600s in works by Scipione Dentice and Pomponio

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6b. Carter 1986-7, 28-29; Bianconi 1982, 4 cites 157 first editions of unaccompanied madrigals between 1601-1610, 118 in 1611-1620 and 24 in 1621-1630 as against 11 books of *concertato* madrigals in 1601-1610, 46 in 1611-1620 and 69 in 1621-1630; he does not specify his criteria for selection.

6c. see Giazotto 1951, 154: Gesualdo's influence can also arguably be traced in Florence with the presence of Muzio Effrem (see below, p. 146), who had spent 22 years (ca. 1591-1613) in Gesualdo's retinue and who edited his first book a 6 for posthumous publication in 1626 - Larson 1985, 669-70 and L.W. Martin 1978, 58.

6d. 1618 and 1619 alone saw new books by Lelio Basile, Antonio de Metrio, Andrea Falconieri, Antonio il Verso, Pomponio Nenna (posth.), Claudio Pari, and Antonio Summonte: see Chapter 5 for works published after 1620.

6e. see Watkins 1973, especially 116, 186, 195, 210 regarding these features of Gesualdo's style.

Nenna.[6f] In the Roman madrigal from the 1620s onward, on the other hand, an interest in Gesualdine extensions of harmonic language is apparent as a single element of a local style following its own principles.[6g]

The basso continuo was introduced to the five-voice madrigal in Salomone Rossi's second book a 5 of 1602, very soon after its first appearance in published sacred music. Although the idea was soon taken up by other composers, publications with continuo did not begin to outnumber those without until the late 1610s.[6h] In many of these publications, too, the possibilities of basso continuo to allow freer handling of the voices over a firm harmonic foundation are virtually ignored, and it is treated as a *basso seguente*. In some books, notably Monteverdi's 5 a 5 (1605) and d'India's 3 a 5 (1615),[6i] the bass is *seguente* in some pieces and independent in others.

Although many of the best-known writers of solo songs also composed polyphonic madrigals, Whenham comments that "many composers of the period...regarded the novelties of monody as an enrichment of, rather than a substitute for, the artistic heritage of the late sixteenth century".[6ii] Antonio Cifra first added a *basso seguente* to his madrigal-books in 1621, while, among the Florentines, Marco da Gagliano never included continuo and Vitali introduced it only in 1629. This appears to be partly the result of separate audiences for madrigal and "musiche" discussed below (p. 13/4-5) in relation to Gagliano. Composers north of Florence, with a tradition of solo song less preoccupied with idiomatic vocal ornamentation,[6j] appear to have shown interest sooner in the diversification of the ensemble madrigal and madrigal-book.

Books of solo madrigals frequently include works for two or more voices, but it took some time for the ensemble madrigal-book to reciprocate. Grandi's first book a 2-4, 1615, was an important trend-setter in this regard, especially as the combination of continuo and a reduced number of voices enabled Grandi to establish a distinctive type of madrigal, whose

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6f. see L.W. Martin 1981, 225-6 for Dentice; Larson 1985, 555, 681-2, 688 for other Neapolitan madrigalists.
6g. see Chapter 6, 127-140.
6h. Carter 1986-7, 31.
6i. G. Watkins in NG 11: 474, "Madrigal: III".
6ii. Whenham 1982, 1: 9.
6j. see Fortune 1954SO, 16-18, 26.

repeated short declamatory phrases, regular harmonic rhythms and walking basses had a strong influence in the north.[6k]

By 1618 works for solo voice were beginning to appear in ensemble madrigal-books published in parts.[6l] This was also the year in which the publisher Vincenti introduced quarto format for solo-voice publications: it also saw the last collection containing only solo madrigals (d'India's third book of *musiche*) and the first solo-voice collection which excluded the madrigal altogether.[6m]

Another feature to appear around 1615 is the inclusion in madrigal-books of non-continuo instruments, as in Stefano Bernardi's *Concerti academici* (1615-16), dedicated to the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona, and the *Madrigali et Symfonie* (1618) of Biagio Marini, then employed by the Venetian government. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, such instrumental writing is a feature strongly associated with northern Italy and Austria.[6n]

I have already mentioned Antonio Cifra, whose first four books of madrigals a 5 (1605-1617) appeared without continuo, but who was also a prolific writer of "scherzi" for one to four voices, of which he published eight books between 1613 and 1618. His senior colleague in Loreto, Pietro Pace (1559-1622), was swifter to bridge the gap between "monody" and the polyphonic madrigal. Of particular interest in Pace's large production are his fourth book a 4 (Rome: Robletti, 1614) which includes not only a continuo part but also a strophic setting of "A caso un giorno" and a five-voice setting over the *aria di Ruggiero* (possibly the earliest such settings to appear in a madrigal-book in part-book format); and his *Madrigali a 4 & 5, parte con sinfonia se piace, e parte senza* (Venice: Vincenti, 1617), which is among the first madrigal-books to include additional instruments.

6k. see Chapter 9, p. 198-200, and also Arnold 1986, 492 and 495.

6l. Whenham 1982, 1: 8-9.

6m. Maggs 1975, 36.

6n. Giovanni Priuli first included continuo in his third madrigal-book of 1612: in 1614 he moved to Austria, and his subsequent books, discussed in pp. 232-234, include both melodic instruments and non-madrigal forms. Giovanni Valentini also began publishing *concertato* works with additional instruments after moving to Austria from Poland in 1614 - Federhofer 1955, 168 and below, 234-236.

How did these developments affect some of the best-known composers of the time? Marco da Gagliano's *Musiche* of 1615 (Venice: Amadino) include madrigal settings for solo voice and also strophic canzonettas and arias, which often employ triple metre and ritornelli. His continuo parts in the madrigals are usually an active counterpoint to the voice, at times imitating vocal *passaggi* and occasionally "walking" for several bars. He appears to have regarded his *musiche*, mostly composed for court entertainments, as quite separate from his five-voice madrigals, which were written for the Florentine academies.[6o] Although he never adopted the basso continuo for his madrigals, however, they were not unaffected by the new trends: Strainchamps points to the naturalistic declamation, tighter organisation and reduced vocal display of the 1617 version of "Filli, mentre ti bacio", compared with that of 1602.[6p] Although it may seem remarkable that someone who produced five books of madrigals in the first decade of the century should publish only one in the second decade and then virtually abandon the medium until his death twenty-five years later, Butchart points out that this was understandable in the context of his busy career as the ducal *maestro di cappella* in Florence.[6q]

Sigismondo d'India's solo madrigals are outstanding partly because he brought to them the same harmonic audacities as he employed in his polyphonic works, although chromaticism and dissonance are used sparingly in both media. D'India had already included continuo in his third madrigal-book of 1615 and in his *Musiche e balli* a 4 (1621), yet decided not to employ it in his seventh book (1624). The settings from Guarini's *Pastor fido* in his seventh and eighth books (both of 1624) all, regardless of the presence or absence of continuo, make extensive use of a type of homophonic declamation which is striking without being naturalistic. "Udite lagrimosi spirti", in Book 7, delivers its lines in long note-values on repeated pitches (there are no runs and no texted quavers), while in "Se tu, Silvio crudel" in Book 8, sixteen syllables are rattled out in four crotchets-worth of semiquavers, ending with a quintuplet (bars 37-38). The main difference between the two books' *Pastor fido* settings is the occasional inclusion in Book 8 of long sections for solo voice. It is in the other settings in this book that the real *concertato* madrigal emerges: "Pallidetto mio sole", for example, is made up largely of duets

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6o. Strainchamps 1984, 311-13; Butchart 1982, 40.
6p. Strainchamps 1984, 314-16.
6q. Butchart 1979, 15-18.

and includes some passages of walking bass (bar 37 onwards). Although these works were written before d'India returned to Rome in 1624, they may well have influenced the work of Michelangelo Rossi and Domenico Mazzocchi.[6r]

Because he was born in Sicily, d'India is often viewed as a Sicilian composer. The books for five voices by Antonio Il Verso and Claudio Pari published in Palermo in 1619,[6s] however, make much less use of dissonance and chromaticism, while sharing with d'India some apparently northern features such as declamation on repeated quavers and semiquaver *passaggi*: Pari also uses declaimed dotted quaver-semiquaver figures and pairs of slurred quavers (both in "Stringiti pur"). Pieces in both books are very short, a feature they have in common with many *a cappella* madrigals from Naples and Tuscany in this period: it is difficult to extend declamatory phrases without the support of the continuo.

Monteverdi, whose polyphonic re-setting of Arianna's lament in his sixth book of 1614 was the model for Pari's book, was quick to pick up the new developments as they arose and to turn them to his own ends. His early inclusion of continuo in his fifth book a 5 (1605) is hardly surprising considering that he was working alongside Salomone Rossi at the Mantuan court. The fifth book shows a sharp contrast between the pieces where the basso continuo is an optional *basso seguente* and those where it is obligatory. The latter include much writing in duet and trio sections, and also solos, as in the opening of "Amor, se giusto sei": the slight tendency in *a cappella* works to set one voice off against the others for quasi-dramatic effect also becomes more marked in pieces such as "T'amo mia vita". Some features of the later books are adumbrated here: "Troppo ben può" has touches of the *canto alla francese* in its deployment of solo

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6r. see Chapter 6, 127-140: see also p. 116 and 163-4 for background to d'India's seventh and eighth books.

6s. Il Verso's 15 a 5 and Pari's *Lamento d'Arianna*, 4 a 5, were both published by Maringo: see the editions by Bianconi (1978) and Carapezza (1970) respectively.

soprano over tutti accompaniment and in its use of slurred pairs of quavers (e.g. on "ah core stolto"); it also uses dotted *passaggi* of the type which become increasingly common in the second and third decades. In formal terms, Monteverdi tends to deploy his voices in a gradual increase in numbers to end with a tutti, but there are also a few instances of blocks of material delivered by a small group then repeated by a large group which so characterise the eighth book (see, for example, the final section of "Ahi come a un vago sol").

In his sixth book of 1614, Monteverdi's interest is concentrated on the overall structure of the book: each half contains a polyphonic multi-part lament, a Petrarch sonnet, and a series of *concertato* madrigals. There are few striking changes within individual pieces, although "Zefiro torna" is remarkable for setting all but a couple of lines in triple metre - within a non-*concertato* setting. A tendency to increased formalism is apparent more in the selection of fixed-form texts than in the musical techniques employed in the generally compact settings.[6t]

The immediately striking aspect of Book 7, the *Concerto...settimo libro de madrigali* (1619) for one to six voices, is the total absence of works for five voices: more than half the pieces are duets. The inclusion of two *lettere amorose* for solo voice and of canzonettas with violins such as "Chiome d'oro" are both features very recently introduced to madrigal-books. The style in the madrigals ranges from the elaborate roulades of "O come sei gentile",[6u] to such Grandi-esque features as pattering quaver declamation, alternation of short motives and walking basses, as in "Perchè fuggi tra selci". The inclusion of extended triple-metre sections

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6t. see also Tomlinson 1987, 156-62.

6u. Tomlinson 1987, 181-185, discusses models for this piece in Monteverdi's earlier work.

in madrigals (e.g. "Non vedrò mai le stelle") is also a recent phenomenon: triple metre had previously been confined almost entirely to canzonettas and arias (although brief sections of triple metre are included by d'India, for example, in two madrigals in his *Musiche* of 1609).

An important feature of the madrigal throughout Italy by 1620 is a return to a more formalistic approach, shown in a return to general acceptance of the equation of a line of text to a phrase of music (an equation which had been broken by several composers, notably Gesualdo, in the late sixteenth century). I do not believe that the introduction of the basso continuo was in itself responsible for the increasing clarity of tonal organisation which is apparent by 1620, but the continuo did make it easier for composers to build extended constructions through devices such as sequences: composers of the *a cappella* madrigal faced greater difficulties in formal construction, especially with the increasingly declamatory nature of most vocal lines.

Although in looking so briefly at the decade before 1620 I have discussed mainly the emergence of musical factors, in subsequent chapters I have tried to develop the argument that composers' activities and the development of musical forms and styles are the result not of an inspired wish to do something original, but of social and economic factors: the only composers I have encountered who lay claim to originality are Gesualdo and Monteverdi.[7] Such exceptions illustrate the danger of writing music history based on the Works of the Great Composers: those we now regard as "great" are seldom representative of their time. The organisation of much of my narrative by geographical areas gives me an

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7. cf. Watkins and LaMay in Finscher (ed.) 1986, 453-87. Some unexpected composers do, however, mention plagiarism, e.g. Lamoretti: see 1: 159-60.

opportunity to place even the most minor composers within a relevant context, and also highlights the crucial importance of patronage and environment to matters of style.

Patronage and environment have affected the thesis on another level - that of selection of material. It has not been possible to examine all the sources to which reference is made, and I have confined my attention to those accessible in Italy or England. With limited time available for transcription, I selected pieces that appeared to me to be interesting: my own subjective criteria included the appeal of the poetic text, the inflection of melodic lines with accidentals, the liveliness of the declamation, and the level of vocal virtuosity. The points raised about each composer are selected to illuminate some facet of the madrigal or the socio-economic basis on which it was written, and make no claim to give a rounded portrait of the composer. My primary concern has been to make the material available in a coherent form while not limiting too severely the understanding that future scholars may develop from it.

Terminology.

Supplying complete pieces to illustrate the various aspects of the genre can bring the music of this repertoire to life for the reader far better than any verbal description. However, some discussion of style is essential even within the historical narrative of this dissertation, as it is important to know which of the diverse musical possibilities were favoured in a particular environment and how these relate to other aspects of intellectual life and patronage. Verbal comment about the music concentrates here upon particular elements of style which are peculiar to a single composer or which illustrate more general trends. In order not to disrupt the progression of such musical commentary by pausing to debate the meaning or propriety of each musical term used as it arises, I offer here some general comments on the terminology employed.

Contemporary versus modern terminology.

A crucial starting-point for this dissertation is the issue of the contemporary meaning of the term "madrigal", which is discussed in

greater detail below. The allegation that the madrigal had "died" by about 1620 is based on a tacit modern definition of the term which does not equate with that understood by contemporary composers. It is therefore clearly my duty to use other seventeenth-century terminology in my musical discussion to avoid imposing another anachronistic set of values upon the repertoire. However, there are two major problems which confront those who wish to use seventeenth-century terms to discuss seventeenth-century music.

The first problem is the absence of relevant contemporary theory and terminology. In the sixteenth century there is often a noticeable time-lag between composers and theorists, but an interval of twenty or thirty years is perhaps less problematic in an era when, although composers may be doing some strange and unauthorised things with their materials, the materials themselves are still essentially those described by the theorists. In the first half of the seventeenth century, with its rapid changes in musical style and practice, many phenomena, most notably the development of "common-practice" tonality, go undescribed: there is therefore no agreed terminology for them. As a result, although I can use some sixteenth-century terminology to describe the modal procedures of those composers still working with sixteenth-century materials, I am compelled to employ modern terminology to describe the essentially tonal characteristics of music by their contemporaries.[8]

The second problem is that many contemporary terms do not have a single meaning, partly because such theoretical material as exists is usually confined to the practice of a limited area, so that the same term may come to have several different applications. A number of the contemporary terms which I use in my discussion have several possible meanings, each of which may be encountered in quotations from contemporary sources.

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8. McClary, 1976, tackles the issue of tonality versus modality in Monteverdi's works by tracing the growth of tonal procedures from the customary harmonisations of the mode-bearing diapente. While it is true that Monteverdi offers a rare opportunity - perhaps the only one - to trace the complete transition from modal to tonal organisation within the output of a single composer, it will be necessary to see whether her arguments can be extended, and perhaps modified, to deal with other contemporary composers who may be more representative of their times.

The contemporary terminology that most concerns us is that regarding style and form. There are a number of terms with very wide-ranging uses, such as "aria" and "cantilena", which seem to have begun as terms of general description to which a number of more specific meanings accrued: there are also those terms which had recently come into use for newly-developing forms, such as "cantata" and the adjectival nouns such as "scherzo", "bizzaria", etc. There is also an extremely important group of formal terms which are derived from the terminology of Italian poetry: this group includes "canzone", "canzonetta" and "madrigal".

Aria can be used in the same senses as its English contemporary, "air".[9a] Doni, for example,[9b] applies it to melody in general, but in much the same situations as those in which Cenci employs "cantilena",[10] which can mean almost anything, from any composition to specific types of modal melody. "Aria" had long had the general meaning of "air" in the sense of "manner" or "style", so it is not surprising that Doni and della Valle apply it in a stylistic sense to structured, singable melody. Its earlier usage for "ways" to recite certain types of verse, such as the formulae used for Italian epics and sonnets, leads Giustiniani, Caccini, Bonini and others to think of "aria" as indicating strophic basses derived from these formulae,[11a] such as the *aria di Ruggiero*, which had originated as a formula for recitation of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*. The association of "aria" with "a quality [any musical entity] appears to possess as being, as it were, precisely determined and inflected on an unavoidable course",[11b] rather than with a set musical form, allows it to be applied as a term both to the strophic pieces with simple, structured melodies often designated as such in printed books of music, and to flowing melodies in triple metre, whether strophic or not.

9a. Pirrotta 1982, 247-8, connects "aria" with "countenance" rather than "air": i.e. (in the sense of "physiognomy") a particular tune; and by extension (in the sense of "behaviour" or "habit") a directional style of melody. He notes (p. 248) the feeling that the complexity of a polyphonic texture ran counter to the directional quality of "aria": he also traces (p. 250) the influence of the *canzona villanesca alla napolitana* upon other types of late sixteenth-century composition.

9b. see .1: 125.

10. see Appendix C, 2: 35ff.

11a. Leopold 1976, 126-27.

11b. Pirrotta 1982, 248.

By 1620 many madrigals include short bursts of triple metre. Some of the more enterprising composers soon begin to extend these sections into long *ariosi* and to write separate pieces in triple metre. Many madrigalists covered by this thesis also published separate aria-books of strophic airs, especially at the beginning of this period: examples are Grandi, Biagio Marini, Capece and d'India. By 1624 Marini was including in his madrigal-books works for vocal ensemble over the *romanesca* bass and other dance basses such as the galliard: other composers to do so include Arrigoni, Giovanni Valentini and Pesenti.[11c]

Cantata, like "sonata" or "sinfonia", is in this period a very new term and one of the few with a musical, not a literary, derivation. The present understanding of "cantata" as a series of distinct movements, recitatives and arias, dates from the 1670s. The earlier meanings of the term vary: printed "cantatas" within madrigal-books include solo recitatives *in genere rappresentativo* and close relatives of the canzone and the through-composed canzonetta (below). The term is also applied by modern musicologists to a manuscript repertoire containing all the forms found in contemporary printed madrigal-books - including, of course, madrigals. In the books of *Cantade et arie* by G.P. Berti and Alessandro Grandi, who were among the first to use the term, it is difficult to determine whether "cantada" is actually intended to apply to any particular type of work, or whether it is a generic term for pieces other than "arie".[12a] However, it is interesting to note that their strophic songs in these books, to which the term "aria" apparently refers, contain an embryonic division within each strophe between the common-time setting of seven- and eleven-syllable lines and triple-time setting of other line lengths: a division which foreshadows the distribution of both musical and poetic metre in late seventeenth-century cantatas and operas.[12b]

11c. See Chapter 11, pp. 259-262 for further discussion of the development of the aria and other forms within madrigal-books.

12a. The definition of the cantata is discussed further in Chapter 11, 1: 262-6: see p. 263 regarding the problem of Grandi and Berti.

12b. One of these *cantade et arie* by Grandi is transcribed in 2: 141-44.

Canzone is a very precise term in literature but never became very widespread as a term in seventeenth-century music. The dictionary of the Accademia della Crusca defines canzone as "poesia lirica di più stanze, che servono il medesimo ordine di rime, che la primiera":[13] I should add that the canzone uses lines of seven and eleven syllables and that the first verse, like a madrigal, can combine rhymes and line-lengths in any order; there is usually a three-line envoi. Although this poetic form was highly respected, especially as it had been extensively used by Petrarch, few poets in this period wrote many canzoni, so there are few set to music. As a musical term, "canzone" is used by Donati, Sabbatini and Mazzocchi, among others, to denote various types of extended form, usually a setting of a strophic text which is through-composed but has some recurring element, such as a vocal refrain or instrumental ritornello. This type of form is most frequently used, and most highly developed, by Viennese and Venetian composers in this period, although these composers do not use the term "canzone". Since "canzonetta" is, in literary terms, the diminutive of "canzone", I think it justifiable to apply "canzone" to works which are too elaborate for the term "canzonetta" because of the size of the performing forces, the degree of variation between strophes (using through-composition, strophic variation technique, or simply altering the scoring), and the presence of instrumental ritornelli or vocal refrains and of an elaborate finale.[14]

Canzonetta is defined by the Accademia della Crusca only as "diminutive

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13. Accademia della Crusca 1623: "a lyric poem of several stanzas, which follow the same rhyme-scheme as the first".

14. The principle of using "canzone" for something larger than a "canzonetta" can be seen in the late sixteenth-century usage of "canzone" to refer to large-scale *napolitana* settings for five or six voices; DeFord 1985, 115-116. "Canzone" should not be confused with "canzona", which is used for instrumental pieces.

of canzone".[15] The poetic canzonetta is usually shorter than the canzone both in overall length and in the length of each stanza: although many canzonettas still use the classical seven- and eleven-syllable lines, other line lengths are also employed, especially in the "anacreontic" style popularised by Chiabrera, who used lines of four, five, six or eight syllables, resulting in a strong rhythmic emphasis. As canzonetta is defined poetically only in this sense of diminutiveness, it is difficult to distinguish it from other "light" genres such as the villanella or *canzone villanesca alla napoletana*, whose poetry is based upon a strophe consisting of three eleven-syllable lines, usually rhyming ABB.[16] It is also difficult in this period to distinguish between the corresponding musical forms. Whenham observes that the canzonetta has a bipartite division in the strophe,[17] which would distinguish it from the villanella, which normally divides into three: but there is an increasing tendency to set other poetic genres as canzonettas, for example the various forms of *sdrucciolo*.[18] Other terms, such as "scherzo", are frequently used for canzonetta settings, for example of Chiabrera's verse,[19] but these adjectival nouns are used in general terms to describe the mood and do not assist greatly in identifying genres or sub-genres.[20]

Defining the madrigal in the seventeenth century.

Since the sixteenth century, musicians have taken the term "madrigal" for

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15. Accademia della Crusca, 1623.
16. cf. Cardamone 1977 and 1981.
17. Whenham 1982, 120.
18. The noun *sdrucciolo* derives from the adjective applied to any line with the accent on the antepenultimate, not the penultimate, syllable: Sannazaro's extended texts entirely in *sdruccioli* were among the few early sixteenth-century poems which continued to be set in the seventeenth century.
19. Whenham 1982, 120.
20. "Scherzo" is also used, for example, for the playful madrigal texts set by Barbara Strozzi: see 1: 204-5.

granted; but it has proved resistant to precise definition. Most twentieth-century reference works have difficulty defining the word beyond "secular vocal chamber music";[21] but I would argue that the seventeenth-century composer had a considerably more precise meaning for "madrigal", which was not bound to the style of the sixteenth century.

Generations of musicologists, bemused by this vagueness, have divided the seventeenth-century madrigal, in particular, into sub-species to which new terms may be applied, such as "monody", "duet", "*concertato* madrigal", "polyphonic madrigal", "cantata" and even "polyphonic monody".[22] Many have hailed monody and duet as progressive while spreading premature reports of the decease of the (polyphonic) "madrigal", without regard to the features that all madrigals have in common.[23] The many different manifestations of the genre can only be understood once the issue is confronted of what the term "madrigal" actually meant to composers.

Contemporary theoretical sources give us little help in arriving at a definition of the musical madrigal. The dictionary of the Accademia della

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21. A brief survey: *Grove 5* defines "madrigal" only as "a form of secular composition for two or more voices". *MGG* (s.v. "Madrigal B: 1") specifies that it is polyphonic: Arnold (ed.) 1983, 2: 1113ff., and Brown 1966, 230, both note the absence of fixed form. *NG* (1980) gives "a term in general use during the sixteenth century and much of the seventeenth for settings of various types and forms of secular verse". Most recently, Haar 1986 gives "a vocal setting, polyphonic and unaccompanied for most of its history, of any of various kinds of verse from ca. 1520 to the middle of the seventeenth century". Most of these entries go on to outline its history, but this is no substitute for a definition of the genre.
22. "Monody" was probably first used by G.B. Doni, 1635, not with reference to the by then defunct solo madrigal: see Bianconi 1982, 16, who also notes the textual relationship between solo and polyphonic madrigal. For the relationship with cantata see p. 17 above and 1: 262-6. "Mehrstimmige Monodie" is used by Schmitz 1914, 12, to describe the soloistic handling of voices in the *concertato* madrigal.
23. Arnold (ed.) 1983, 2: 1113ff. is typical of this view.

Crusca lists only the poetic form.[24] Giustiniani appears to consider the madrigal as essentially polyphonic, while Caccini and Bonini also apply the term to through-composed solo song.[25] References to a "madrigalesque" style complicate matters further: Kircher tells us that it is suitable for the expression of virtue, love, and historical and fictional allusion. He does, however, helpfully distinguish it from the "stylus melismaticus" of ariettas, villanellas and so forth, which have a more marked rhythmic character and repeated phrases.[26] By the time the theorists caught up with contemporary practice in the eighteenth century, the position of the madrigal had changed and its meaning had undergone further modification. Walther, in 1732, defines the madrigal as "eine kurze, aus freyen und ungezwungenen, auch meist ungleichen Versen bestehende Poesie....Die Italienische Schau-Spiele sind fast durchgehends Madrigalien....Die *Composition* über dergleichen Verse wird auch also genennet".[27]. Presumably this is why Mattheson comments in 1739 that "Die Opern selbst sind lauter historische Madrigale", yet that old madrigals sound strange to his day: "wenn man heutiges Tages dergleichen

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24. Accademia della Crusca, 1623 and 1691 s.v. "madriale": other terms are similarly treated, with "canzone" defined in its poetic form and "canzonetta" only as diminutive of "canzone", while "aria" makes its first appearance in the 1691 appendix as "termine musicale".
25. Leopold 1976, 126-27.
26. Kircher 1650, 586, 597: "Madrigalescus stylus est, proceisus quidam harmonicus moralium actionum virtutibus, amoribus, alijsque ingeniosis ad fabulas, & historias, allusionibus exprimendis aptissimus.... Melismaticus à dulcedine melodiae sic dictus, est stylus harmonicus versibus metrisque aptissimus... singula verò membra distinguuntur certis figuris, quibus repetitionem clausulae, sive membri harmonici significant. Ad hunc stylum revocantur omnia ea cantica, quas *Ariettas*, & *Villanellas*, vulgo vocati.... Madrigalescus animo ad amorem, compassionem, caeterasque molliores affectiones rapiendo maximè idoneus est."
27. Walther 1732, 376: "a short poem consisting of free and unconstrained, and also unequal lines [possibly referring either to the odd number of syllables in each line or to the combination of lines of different lengths]...Italian plays are madrigals almost throughout...The [musical] composition on such texts is also so named".

hundertjährige Arbeit ansiehet, kommt sie uns ganz seltsam vor: denn sie reimen sich gar nicht zum itzigen Geschmack". Mattheson also draws on at least one seventeenth-century source, quoting Marco Scacchi's 1643 version of the *seconda prattica* dictum that "in der Madrigalen, die Worte Herren und keine Knechten sind" and also using his system of classification into church, theatre and chamber music.[28]

Madrigal-books themselves are by far our best guide to what their composers meant by "madrigal". True, a great diversity of forms appears in seventeenth-century madrigal-books, but pieces in other forms are frequently labelled as "aria", "canzone", "canzonetta", etc., especially in the 1620s, when these forms were still relatively new. Conversely, individual pieces termed "madrigal" appear in publications devoted to other genres, although these are not covered in this dissertation.

From such musical sources it can be established that the key features of the musical madrigal are analogous to those of the poetic madrigal, which has no set length and may combine seven- and eleven-syllable lines in any scheme of rhyme and metre (including unrhymed lines if desired).

1. Length and formal divisions.

Like the poetic madrigal, the musical madrigal has neither predetermined formal divisions nor a set length, although *ad hoc* formal divisions such as changes of metre may be introduced if desired. In practice, length may be determined in part by the size of performing forces and hence the possibilities for variation in texture or contrapuntal development. Another factor is the length of the text, which may take any form, as long as it is given a through-composed setting: although the poetic madrigal is a very popular choice, settings of sonnets and sections of canzoni and odes are also frequently encountered.

2. Elements of musical repetition.

That the madrigal must be non-strophic is a necessary consequence of its lack of fixed formal divisions, and also of the often-stated principle that the words are the mistress of the music and hence that more than one set of words ought not to be fitted to the same musical setting. For

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28. Mattheson 1739, 78-80: "operas are nothing but historical [or narrative] madrigals....nowadays if one looks at this sort of century-old work, it seems quite strange to us: for they do not make sense to today's taste....in the madrigal, the words are lords and not servants". For further discussion of Scacchi's classification see Palisca 1972, 191ff.

the same reasons, the madrigal does not have any regular refrain or ritornello; those pieces in the madrigal-books which do are usually designated "canzonetta" or "canzone". However, there are cases where echoes of preceding lines in the text will suggest a return of the associated music in a madrigal, and an entire section of the piece (words and music) may be repeated if desired; written-out repetition of the last section is common, especially in the sixteenth century.

3. Metre.

The seven- and eleven-syllable lines used in the poetic madrigal are capable of great rhythmic flexibility: the 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9-syllable lines which produce regular stress-patterns are avoided. Likewise, the musical madrigal may use a combination of metres, but it normally avoids strong regular rhythms such as extended triple-time sections or the dance rhythms of Gastoldi's *balletti.*[29a]

4. Bass lines.

Works set over a ground bass or bass pattern such as the *Ruggiero* or *romanesca* are generally styled "aria" in contemporary sources,[29b] however "madrigalian" the word-setting may appear.

Although a definition of a form which is notable for its lack of fixed features may seem elusive, the criteria listed above do in fact accurately define works published as madrigals in the period of this dissertation. I deal here mainly with works in publications where the term "madrigal" appears as a title or sub-title. To place such madrigals within an appropriate context, works in other forms within madrigal-books are also discussed when they occur.[30] The discussion in chapters 5-10 shows the distinctions in favoured styles and media among the various musical environments which generated madrigal-books.

I have described the definition above as one of "form", not "genre". "Genre" implies a coherent class of works. I am not convinced that it is good idea to seek to define "genre" with relation to a repertory as

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29a. The gradual introduction in the seventeenth century of extended triple-time sections is a feature which blurs the formal distinction between madrigal and cantata: see also Chapter 11, p. 264-5.

29b. See the discussion of "aria" above, pp. 16-17.

30. As mentioned elsewhere, most works in other forms found in these books are given separate designations.

diverse as the seventeenth-century madrigal: indeed one of the reasons for the tendency to neglect the form in writings on seventeenth-century music may be precisely the difficulty of establishing a "genre" definition, something which is much more straightforward for the sixteenth-century madrigal. There is an element of genre-definition in the concentration of this dissertation on printed madrigal-books containing works for three or more voices: in chapter 11 I discuss further the overlap in form between the printed madrigal and the manuscript cantata, which are generally treated as separate genres.

It is also worth examining here some of the criteria which have been used by other scholars in establishing sub-genres within the madrigal or, indeed, in allocating certain types of madrigal to other genres.

As will be shown in Chapter 4, the nature of the word-setting in a madrigal does not depend upon the number of voices used. This calls into question the validity of classifications based upon features of scoring, which have hitherto been much used by musicologists. The position of the solo madrigal, in particular, needs reassessment. The evolutionary theory of music has tended to elevate it above other members of the genre because of its associations with the Florentine "camerata"; musicologists have generally been more aware of achievements in "monody",[31] and have neglected those of the madrigal for several voices. Our judgements have also been influenced by comments such as those of Doni that "monody" (his term) is more moving and is a more apt form of expression than polyphony for conveying the emotions of individuals.[32] Yet Caccini's madrigals, for example, preserve many features of sixteenth-century madrigalian declamation and word-painting, and probably owe at least as much to the largely unwritten tradition of solo performance of polyphonic madrigals[33] as they do to the ideals of the Florentine avant-garde, which he frequently flouts. The impact of the solo madrigal was probably greatest in the enrichment of operatic recitative, and upon the earliest solo cantatas. Regardless of Doni's comments, it is clear that few seventeenth-century composers viewed a polyphonic performance of an

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31. Much of this awareness may be credited to the works of Nigel Fortune listed in the Bibliography.
32. Doni 1635, 79, 102-3.
33. see Einstein 1934M, and 1949, 836-846.

individual's lament as incongruous.[34] The madrigal for several voices long outlives that for one voice, probably because it offers a greater range of expressive possibilities.

While genre distinctions made according to the number of voices therefore appear inappropriate, classifications according to the inclusion and style of a basso continuo part also present problems.[35] Possible types of basso continuo range from the *basso seguente* type, following the bass voice or whichever line happened to be lowest, to an independent instrumental underpinning; from a static to a walking bass. Many composers use all of these options, sometimes within a single piece. The independence of the basso continuo is a grey area: a "basso seguente" may nevertheless free the bass voice to perform a more ornate version of the same part. An independent bass line (seldom found when there is a bass voice singing) may act more as a contrapuntal voice than as mere harmonic foundation. All of these factors suggest that attempts to subdivide the madrigal according to its accompaniment are unlikely to produce useful results.[36]

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34. Einstein 1949, 853, comments: "Is it not strange that Monteverdi [in book 6] uses the old a cappella style precisely for the "dramatic" texts, the monologues and dialogues from the *Pastor fido*?....Monteverdi still looks on polyphony, and precisely on polyphony, as constituting a useful means for working out with especial sharpness the portrayal of a character or state of the affections".

35. for example, Braun 1981, 142, applies *concertato* madrigal to works for at least four voices, "Generalbassmadrigal" to pieces accompanied only by continuo, and "begleitete Madrigal" to pieces using violins.

36. It might, however, be appropriate to treat separately the few madrigal-books which appeared without continuo after 1620, which were usually self-consciously designed for limited audiences.

Above all, we should not discuss composers as if they had decided, on the basis of personal preference, to ally themselves with a particular type of composition: this is rarely the case. Madrigalists were by no means the exclusive arbiters of musical or dramatic taste: even if they were not writing specifically to order for a particular patron, their compositions were affected by the training they had received, the local or regional musical fashion, the degree of access they had to recent works by other composers, the availability of poetic texts in a particular style, and most of all their intended market or audience. The following chapters will draw a general outline of how some of these influences operated on the national level before assessing what effect they had upon individual composers.

MAP 1: POLITICAL DIVISIONS IN ITALY, ca. 1620

CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

It may seem anachronistic to write about "Italy" in the seventeenth century, since its political unification took place only in the nineteenth. Plenty of contemporary writings by both Italians and foreigners, however, refer to an Italy - understood as a geographical and cultural entity - whose boundaries correspond approximately to those of the present day. Regardless of the internal borders, an impression of common nationality was fostered by the widespread adoption of the Tuscan form of the vernacular as a literary language: by the seventeenth century most Italian writers published their works in Italian rather than in Latin, and Italian appears to have been the normal spoken language of educated society.

This standardised literary language also predominates in the texts used for Italian secular vocal music of the period. Even the occasional use of regional dialects did not hinder national, or international, circulation of forms such as the *canzone alla napolitana* and comic songs in Venetian, as their popularity was associated with the *commedia dell'arte*, in which the stock figures are characterised in part by their various dialects: imitation of rustic regional accents was also a popular private entertainment.[1] On a purely practical level, the political boundaries within the country appear to have had little effect on the movement of composers and musicians from post to post or patron to patron.

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1. Vecchi's *Veglie di Siena* (1604) and Banchieri's *Barca di Venetia per Padova* (1605/1623) consist largely of comic representations in dialect: many books of *napoletane* were also reprinted in Germany.

Political divisions.[2]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Italy comprised the "kingdoms" of Sicily and Naples (ruled from Spain), the Papal States, and a number of central and northern dukedoms and republics, the largest of which was the Venetian Republic, whose territories extended from Bergamo to Istria and Dalmatia. The balance of power among these states was fragile, and repeated conflicts arose between those states which were controlled by Spain and the Empire and those which took an independent or pro-French stance. Piedmont was essentially a supporter of France, and had made an abortive attack on Milan in 1610: it later quarrelled with Spain over the Mantuan succession. The Duchy of Milan was the Imperial base in Italy, of great strategic importance throughout the Thirty Years War, especially since an agreement with the Republic of Genoa gave it access to the coast: this was the main route for troops and supplies from Spain and southern Italy to reach southern Germany. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany, which had absorbed the former Republic of Siena, also adopted a largely pro-Spanish foreign policy, and this was one reason why the Francophile Pope Urban VIII was anxious to add to and consolidate the neighbouring Papal States. Some of the smaller states such as Parma, Mantua, Modena and Lucca managed to resist annexation by either Empire or Papacy and were still self-governing in the nineteenth century. Despite varying degrees of "independence" in their form of government, however, most of the Italian states were to some extent controlled by either the Spanish or the Austrian end of the Imperial axis. Even Venice, which retained a stubborn political independence and often fought against

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2. see Map 1, p. 27.

Imperial control in Northern Italy, relied heavily upon Imperial possessions in southern Germany for her trading revenues.

The "crisis" of the seventeenth century.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Italy boasted the largest city in Christendom (Naples), while the whole country contained about thirteen million people, as compared with about four million in England.[3] Table 1, p. 31, shows how this unusually dense population was distributed. It was supported by flourishing agriculture - much Sicilian wheat was exported, and rice was well established in the Po valley - and also by what must have been the most industrialised economy in Europe, with its huge textile industries and large-scale production of paper, books, glass, metals, works of art and musical instruments.[4] Venice was the great trading centre of Europe, and there was a great deal of "invisible" export, especially finance. Yet by the end of the seventeenth century, Italy had become a poor nation, exporting raw materials and importing most of the goods she had once manufactured herself.[5] By 1620 a number of reasons for this drastic change were already emerging.

Firstly, agriculture throughout Europe was adversely affected by the so-called "little ice age". The change in climate was sufficiently marked to put an end to Sicily's cane-sugar trade, while poor nutrition due to repeated poor harvests contributed to the several devastating outbreaks of plague.[6] Since the cities maintained public order by distributing

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3. Parker 1979, 23.
4. Cipolla in Pullan (ed.) 1968, 133.
5. ibid., 144.
6. Parker 1979, 17ff.

Table 1: POPULATION

		1600-	1630-	c.1650
The "nation"		13,000,000[a]		12,000,000[a]
Venice:	republic	1,800,000[a]		
	city	134,871[b] (1593)		
		142,804[b] (1624)	98,244[b] (1633)	
Savoy	duchy	1,000,000[a]		
Milan:	city	180,216[d]	100,000[d]	
Genoa:	republic	450,000[a]		
Mantua:	duchy	440,000[a]		
Tuscany:	duchy	750,000[a]		
		648,996[b] (1622)		608,575[b] (1642)
	Florence	76,023[b] (1622)	63,154[b] (1630)	69,749[b] (1642)
Siena:	ex-republ.	117,173[b] (1612)		117,934[b] (1642)
	city	18,659[b] (1610)		15,998[b] (1640)
Papal States:		1,800,000[a]		
	Rome	99,000[c] (1602)		
		116,000[c] (1627)	115,960[c] (1640)	119,000[c] (1652)
	Bologna			53,494[b] (1656)
	Ferrara			23,368[b] "
	Viterbo			11,124[b] "
	Faenza			10,445[b] "
	Ancona			9,556[b] "
Naples:	kingdom	2,706,580[c] (1601)		2,483,200[c] (1643)
	city	280,000[e] (1606)		
		267,973[c] (1614)		300,000[e] (pre-1656)
Sicily:	Palermo	104,983[c] (1606)	114,000[c] (1626)	111,818[b] (1652)
		128,000[c] (1624)	100,000[c] (1642)	
	Messina	100,774[c] (1606)	80,000[c] (1647)	60,000[b] (1652)

a = Parker 1979, 23 (national), 192 (regional)

b = Beloch, in Cipolla (ed.) 1959, , 457, 465, 469-72, 475, 479-82, 491: he gives figures for Sicily (individuals) and K. of Naples (hearths), districts and towns in R. of Venice, and order of cities by size in the late sixteenth century. Beloch's figures for Venice, based on census records, are lower than those of Beltrami in Cipolla (ed.) 1959, 501-532, which are are based on parish registers.

c = Coniglio 1955, 24-26

d = Cooper (ed.) 1970, 76: gives losses in 1630-31

e = Romano 1976, 4

food, the rural poor flocked to them and added to the overcrowded and insanitary conditions.[7]

Secondly, the economies of all the Italian states had become increasingly top-heavy, parasitic and unstable in the boom conditions encouraged by the increasing amount of gold entering circulation from the Americas.[8] At the same time, Italian trade in very high-quality expensive goods was being undercut by cheaper English and Dutch products.[9] The crash came in 1619, when the government of the Duchy of Milan decided to increase the value of the Imperial lira by a third in an attempt to reduce inflation: this triggered a depression through much of Europe which lasted until 1622.[10]

The outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618 contributed to this crisis. As well as producing a climate of uncertainty, it led to a large-scale siphoning-off of funds from the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily:[11] it also hastened the decline of Venice as a trading power, as the conflict jeopardised inland trade routes and thus deprived her of part of her markets in southern Germany.[12] Although northern Italy was not the most spectacular theatre of the Thirty Years War, it saw a considerable amount of military activity: there were the French attacks on the Spanish supply line through the Duchy of Milan and the Valtelline, beginning in 1621; the dispute over the Mantuan succession which ended in 1630 with the sack of the city by plague-carrying Imperial troops; and the war waged by Urban

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7. Coniglio 1955, 31; Romano 1968, 726.
8. Trevor-Roper in Aston (ed.) 1965, 72; Vigo 1976, 122-23.
9. Mazzei 1979, 200.
10. Vigo, 1976, outlines the sequence of events; Romano, 1962, sees these years as the "true" turn of the century.
11. cf. de Rosa 1983, Coniglio 1955, Villari 1967, Marrone 1976.
12. cf. Rapp 1976 and Sella 1961.

VIII against Parma from 1641 to 1644 as part of his aggressive policy to strengthen the Papal States. A brief chronology of major events is given as Table 2, below.

Table 2: CHRONOLOGY 1610-56

(from Kiernan 1980 and Parker 1979)

1610	Savoy attempt to seize Milan
1614-5	Savoy and Spain quarrel over Mantua
1615	Archduke Ferdinand attacks Venice over piracy
1616	Savoy invades Montferrat, supported by Venice
1617	Peace of Pavia
1618	Spanish agents attempt coup in Venice Bohemian revolt triggers Thirty Years War United Provinces (Netherlands) constitutional crisis
1619	Milanese lira revalued by a third
1619-22	Economic crisis, including banking crisis in Southern Italy
1621	Valtelline civil war begins: invasions by Spain and Venice
1623	Maffeo Barberini becomes Pope Urban VIII
1624	Plague in Palermo kills Viceroy
1626	Papal States officially annex Urbino
1627	Death of the Duke of Mantua: succession by Carlo I Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, disputed by Spain, which claims Mantua while Savoy takes Montferrat
1628	Popular riots in Milan provoked by troops/food shortage
1630	Peace of Regensburg: France withdraws troops from Italy Sack of Mantua by Imperial troops
1630-32	Plague in Northern Italy kills a third of the population
1630-35	Southern Germany especially badly hit by invasions
1635	France occupies Valtelline
1639	Spain invades Piedmont
1640	Southern Italy threatened with invasion by France and Turks
1641	Papal States begin war with Parma
1641-45	Persistent French attacks on Milan
1642	Italian states, notably Naples, devalue currency
1644	Death of Urban VIII leads to peace with Parma
1645-69	War of Candia closes Venetian trade with Aleppo
1647	Bad harvests result in revolts in Naples (led by Masaniello) and Sicily - backed by France
1648	Treaty of Westphalia - the official end of the Thirty Years War - confirms *status quo* in Italy
1648-50	French actions in Lombardy continue
1649	Worst harvest of the century in the Empire: famine, plague
1656	Plague in Naples, Rome and Genoa
1659	Peace between France and Spain.

Throughout Italy, attempts to raise money for the wars made the general situation worse. The nobility, perhaps three percent of the national population,[13] were generally exempt from taxes, so that this burden fell on the poor and on trade. The many internal borders led to the imposition of multiple customs duties and made land transport even less viable, with the result that land-locked states probably suffered the worst decline in industrial and commercial activity. The ranks of the nobility swelled rapidly in many areas as well-to-do merchants bought their freedom from taxation in the form of titles (with associated power over land and inhabitants): this further reduced the money available for productive investment, and led to considerable refeudalisation as the new landowners demanded quick returns on their properties.[14] In addition, much of the nobility's money was spent on forms of display such as banquets, buildings, works of art and lavish musical and theatrical productions, which may have left a rich heritage, but drained money away from forms of investment more beneficial to the economy at large.[15]

A brief survey of the larger Italian states will show how some of these factors took effect in different areas. The circumstances of Tuscany and the smaller dukedoms and principalities such as Mantua, Modena and Parma will be discussed in chapters 7 and 10 below when introducing the local composers.

Venice.

During the seventeenth century, Venice's status as an economic centre sank from that of a European emporium to that of a provincial capital. The process had begun with the war over Cyprus in 1570-73, which temporarily crippled her fleet and drove her customers to seek alternative transport. After this she was more heavily dependent on

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13. Parker 1979, 63: this was higher in certain areas.
14. Romano 1968, 736-7.
15. see Hobsbawm in Aston (ed.) 1965, 18.

northern Italian and southern German trade.[16] The reopening of the Cape route in the early seventeenth century destroyed her previous monopoly on the spice trade: by 1612 she was buying in spices from England,[17] and by 1625 the Venetian authorities classed spices as "western commodities" since they came via England or the Netherlands.[18] Since her trade with the East was based on barter rather than on money, this meant that she also lost a large market for Venetian goods.[19] Although Venice retained her useful geographical position and a highly developed financial system, her protective regulations prevented non-Venetians from sharing her facilities as a trading base. Merchants became less interested in going to Venice, and trade in Venetian goods declined. Other Italian ports, such as Genoa, Leghorn (Livorno) and Ancona, benefited from the transfer of this trade.[20]

Trade with Germany was severely disrupted by the Thirty Years War: many German cities were sacked, the overall population fell by about a third, and trading links with Cologne, Nuremberg, Ulm and Augsburg were cut. It therefore became even harder for Venice to trade her way out of her own difficulties.[21] Whereas trade in the standard commodities suffered, exports of luxury goods managed to continue: but even here Venice's monopoly was eroded as Venetian craftsmen emigrated and took their equipment to other parts of Europe.[22]

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16. Sella in Pullan (ed.) 1968, 92.
17. Sella 1961, 26.
18. Sella in Pullan (ed.) 1968, 95.
19. Sella 1961, 12-13.
20. ibid., 34-36, 46-7.
21. ibid., 52.
22. Sella 1961, 85; Rapp 1976, 37. There were various Venetian laws prohibiting the emigration of skilled craftspeople or the export of equipment, but these appear to have become ineffective.

The Venetian financial market maintained itself by investment abroad; its power is shown by an episode in 1636, when 200,000 ducats were raised in a few days for a speculation in Lyons. It is ironical that this capacity was used to fund Venice's competitors, for example the Dutch East India Company in the 1620s.[23] By 1626 Venice was reduced to exporting rice - in other words, primary produce - to England and Holland.[24] However, Rapp produces ample evidence for his view that

> The level of Venetian participation in international commerce did tumble. The output of the major industries did fall off. Yet, by adjustment of emplcyment away from export industries into occupations which served the domestic market, no appreciable loss in population or in living standard was sustained.[25]

Or, as James Howell put it in 1651,

> ...ther is no outward appearance of poverty, or any kind of decay in this soft effeminat City, but she is still fresh and florishing, abounding with all kind of comerce, and flowing with all bravery and delight.[26]

The Venetian social structure was both rigid and stable. Although, as elsewhere, a third of the population died in the plague of 1630-31 (see Table 1, p. 31), gaps in the workforce were quickly filled by immigration from the mainland.[27] The replacement of skilled workers must nevertheless have presented difficulties.[28] The upper classes lost fewer members in the plague, and so in the 1630s and 1640s patricians, citizens amd Jews between them form a noticeably larger proportion of the population than usual.[29] Later in the century the number of patricians

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23. Sella 1961, 85.
24. ibid., 86-87.
25. Rapp 1976, 5-6.
26. Howell 1651, 40.
27. Rapp 1976, 34.
28. Rapp 1976, 87, points out that these must have been aggravated in the second half of the century, when a shift in age-distribution within the guilds becomes apparent: the ratio of masters to apprentices rises as the general population becomes older.
29. Beltrami 1954, 75-79: the proportion of "cittadini" is at its highest (10.6%) in 1633 (72).

shrank, as in order to accumulate family fortunes it was unusual for younger sons to marry.[30] This created problems, as the state depended on its large oligarchy for its entire administration.[31] Patrician women who remained unwed were usually sent into convents; there were 2,905 nuns in Venice in 1642, almost five percent of the total female population,[32] and this enforced enclosure led to notoriously lax behaviour in some convents. In his praise of the Venetian system of government, Howell notes the careful decision-making, the obedient and patriotic citizens, the good intelligence service, the use of mercenaries (paid for by the guilds) in war to minimalise the loss of useful citizens, and the employment of foreign generals to avoid faction.[33] On the negative side, Pullan points to the tendency of patricians to distance themselves from commerce and to the high number of individual bankruptcies as early as 1610, many of which resulted from the outlay required to serve with decorum in such posts as provincial governorships.[34]

Milan.

Milan was ruled by an Imperial governor, whose decisions generally followed the views of the local oligarchy. The economic problems in Lombardy that resulted in the 1619-22 crisis have been outlined by Giovanni Vigo. The Piedmont-Montferrat war in 1613-17 increased demand, leading to an economic boom with high inflation.[35] In 1619, fearing that

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30. Howell 1651, 7 says it was actually prohibited.
31. Beltrami 1954, 71-72 refers to the declining number of the ruling class as a reason for the eventual collapse of the Republic: the patriciate numbered 6,439 in 1586, 4,457 in 1642 and 3,557 in 1766.
32. Beltrami in Cipolla (ed.) 1959, 512.
33. Howell 1651, 4-7.
34. Pullan 1964, 115-116.
35. Vigo 1976, 101.

the rising prices of basic goods would cause popular revolt, the Milanese government decided to revalue the currency by a third: ironically, the measure killed much of the duchy's trade. This took place in a climate already clouded by approaching war, by the decline in imports of South American bullion, and by the anti-inflationary measures taken by other governments. Industries producing luxury goods in the city of Milan were hit worst: as goods in stock went out of fashion and could not be sold, the lack of income meant that new stocks could not be produced. From 1623 these industries began to recover, as the lack of heavy, capital-intensive machinery made it possible for producers to adapt relatively quickly to new market conditions, but the arrival of the plague in 1630 undid all the good work.[36]

Milan was the first Italian city to be struck by the plague, which was borne by Imperial troops from Germany. The *Storia di Milano* quotes a petition from the city presented to Philip IV in June 1630 which describes the scene vividly:

> ...Doppo le hospitationi di numerosissimi esserciti Reali, che nel corso di vinti anni continui han questo Stato di Milano distrutto, e consumato; e doppo le gravissime penurie, e carestie, dalle quali sono stati fieramente travagliati, et afflitti questi popoli, è sopragionta, per colmo di miseria loro, la Pestilenza, portata quì da Soldati stranieri venuti à militare in servigio di Vostra Maestà...l'eccessive, et incredibili spese, che alla giornata sono necessarie in erigere nuovi Lazaretti; pagar grossi salari a' Medici, Ministri, Officiali; pascere, e medicinar gl'infermi; pigliar case à pigione per riporre i sospetti; risarcire i fitti, e danari de' spaciosi terreni occupati per fabricarvi capanne, e lavanderie; purgar le robbe di maggior prezzo; pagar a' poveri i mobili di manco valore, che per più sicurezza si è stabilito di abbruggiare; proveder di utensili in ogni luogo; mantener per tutto le Guardie; e finalmente sostentar una quantità grandissimi de' poveri sequestrati, e mendici, à quali dal publico si somministra giornalmente il pane...[37]

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36. Vigo 1976, 105-7, 111-12, 114-5, 122-6.
37. *Storia di Milano* 1958, 29-31: "...after giving hospitality to such numerous Royal armies, who in the course of twenty successive years have destroyed and consumed this State of Milan; and after the gravest penury, and famine, by which this people has been heavily burdened and afflicted, to complete their misery, the

The petition also speaks of the economic problems caused by quarantine, the virtual cessation of agricultural production, and the poverty of all classes of society. It is hard to tell to what extent this report is exaggerated; the governor's estimate of 140,000 dead may well be double the true total,[38] while the quarantine restrictions placed on individuals, who had to present a clean bill of health from their last abode when moving from town to town, were notoriously ineffective and largely unenforced.

The picture after the plague is certainly dismal. Those living off returns from land, whether noble or peasant, were hit hardest: many of them lost their labour force, harvest, and livestock. In addition, the peasants were subject to heavy taxation to finance the war effort: those unable to pay were imprisoned, and this further reduced the labour supply. Many artisans had died or emigrated. The problems created by this disaster throughout northern Italy were compounded in Milan by the continuing financial demands made by Spain and by the need to feed thousands of troops, who were frequently left unpaid and had no official provision made for the families that they brought with them.[39]

> Pestilence has arrived, brought here by foreign soldiers come to fight in your Majesty's service...[it goes on to describe] the excessive, and incredible expenses which are necessary each day in erecting new hospitals; paying large salaries to Doctors, Ministers, Officials; feeding and supplying medicine to the sick; renting houses to accommodate those suspected [of contagion], covering the rents and income of the large amounts of land occupied for building huts and laundries; purging the more expensive goods; paying the poor for the less valuable furniture, which it has been decided to burn for safety's sake; providing utensils in each place; maintaining Guards everywhere; and finally sustaining a huge number of homeless and mendicant poor, to whom by the public [purse] bread is handed out daily...".

38. ibid., 31-32.
39. ibid., 34-36.

Troop movements through the duchy continued throughout the 1630s and 1640s: in 1635 the French returned to fight over the Valtelline, and they took their final departure in 1650. The urban Milanese were so terrified at being caught between rival armies that in 1645, when the French took much of the area around the city, they went so far as to raise a militia: given the periodic attempts at rebellion, arming their own people was a desperate step.[40]

Naples.

In 1648 John Raymond said of Naples that it was

> ...extremely populous, and consequently vitious, he that desires to live a retired, or indeed chaste life must not set up there; as the gardens are fild with Oranges, so the houses want not for Lemmon.[41]

While the local prostitutes were notorious, upper and middle-class women seem to have led enclosed lives on the Spanish model: Larson notes that from 1550 to 1700 only five women became members of the Neapolitan academies, and that very few Neapolitan music-books were dedicated to women.[42] In other respects, too, the city was full of contradictions: Lewes Roberts observed in 1619 that "the Kingdome of Naples is accounted the richest of Italy", producing metals, wine, saffron, silk, oil, sulphur and food crops, but that in Naples itself "few eminent Merchants natives are here found; the taxes laid upon Merchandises being so great, that it ruines all Commerce".[43]

The Kingdom of Naples was not itself a scene of warfare in this period, although France made a feint towards it to divert attention from its

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40. ibid. 61, 65, 77-8, 91, 103, 106, 119-21.
41. Raymond 1648, 141 - a pun on "leman" or mistress.
42. Larson in Bianconi & Bossa (eds.) 1983, 62-64.
43. Roberts 1638, 52-53.

campaign in northern Italy: in doing so France supported the abortive 1647 revolt and also reawakened fears of invasion from the Ottoman Turks.[44] The Neapolitans' main concern was to confine hostilities to the north and to prevent them from spreading to their own territory: this concern made them ready to cooperate with Spanish requests for money.[45] Naples sent 2,622,997 ducats to Milan between 1631 and 1637, and a further 8,298,000 from 1638 to July 1644. This money was raised as loans through a small number of financiers, with the result that by 1644 all tax revenue was going to finance the public debt. The widespread use of bank-notes and cheques contributed to an inflationary bubble that jeopardised the eight public banks. The 1647 revolt was largely in reaction to the increased taxation on basic foodstuffs with which the government was attempting to raise additional revenue.[46]

The need to raise large sums of money in the short term hastened the process of refeudalisation. All taxes had to be authorised by a parliament consisting almost entirely of the nobility, whose continuing favour the viceroy bought by maintaining their privileges; "anarchic" elements of the nobility weakened central government by putting their theoretical, but lately inoperative, rights and privileges into effect - for example, in the punishment of offenders.[47] The government tried to raise money in the short term by selling titles and even state-owned land, which in the long term would deprive it of tax and other revenues. In 1613 there were 161 titled barons in the kingdom; by 1640 there were 341, and there were corresponding rises in the numbers of princes, dukes and marquesses.[48] As the nobility gathered in the city of Naples, it saw

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44. Villari 1967, 132, 135-6.
45. de Rosa 1983, 367.
46. ibid., 368-9, 372-3, 376-81.
47. Villari 1967, 5-9.
48. Villari 1967, 163-65, 189, 192.

a building boom and increased consumption of luxury goods;[49] at the same time, numerous companies failed and the poor flocked in from the countryside to seek cheap bread and lower taxation.[50] A further grievance among the poor was enforced military recruitment by press-gang.[51] Many peasants in outlying parts of the kingdom defected to Sicily, the Papal States and the Ottoman Empire.[52]

Sicily.

The Spanish crown appeared to have greater respect for Sicily than for Naples, as Sicily had freely chosen the Spanish monarchy and had not been made subject by conquest.[53] Although at first this meant that Spain demanded less money from Sicily than from Naples for the war effort, pressure was increasing by 1629, and Sicily eventually contributed twelve million scudi.[54] As in Naples, the money was largely raised from outside the kingdom, and similar economic problems resulted and were met in the same ways. Although the Viceroy Osuna, appointed in 1611, had earlier made determined efforts to cut the government deficit and to bring the kingdom under central legal authority,[55] by 1621 the nobles could buy back the right of jurisdiction in their feuds;[56] the widespread oppression of the poor is reflected in the extent of the popular revolts of 1647, which spread from Palermo to Messina, Sciacca, Girgenti and Catania.

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49. Galasso in Bianconi & Bossa (eds.) 1983, 16.
50. ibid., 18; Romano 1976, 19-20; Coniglio 1955, 31.
51. Villari 1967, 128.
52. de Rosa 1983, 386.
53. Correnti 1976, 8.
54. ibid., 85-86.
55. Mack Smith 1968, 201.
56. Correnti 1976, 50.

Palermo, the seat of government and court, and the home of most of the nobility, was essentially parasitic, while Messina, Catania and Trapani sustained the kingdom's commercial life.[57] There were several long-standing quarrels among the cities on such issues as universities and saints,[58] while Messina vigorously disputed the title of capital city with Palermo; both paid large amounts into Spanish coffers for their privileges.[59] Money was also invested more productively in internal colonisation: 88 new communes were established between 1583 and 1653. Nor were existing cities neglected: many of Palermo's principal monuments were built in the seventeenth century.[60]

The Papal States.

With the acquisition of Ferrara in 1597 and of Urbino in 1625-26,[61] the Papal States grew to form a compact state extending from the Po valley to the border of the Kingdom of Naples.[62] Urban VIII, who favoured France, took care to build up his defences against the surrounding Spanish-dominated states. He refortified the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome, adding an arsenal under the Vatican library, built a new fortress at Castelfranco near Modena, and improved the defences of Loreto, Ancona,

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57. Marrone 1976, 33-34.
58. Correnti 1976, 57.
59. ibid., 60. A suggestion by Messina in 1629 that the island be divided into two states was rejected - Mack Smith 1968, 204.
60. Correnti 1976, 88; Marrone 1976, 109-11.
61. Marcolini 1868: the duchy of Urbino was annexed by the Papacy in 1626, as the only male heir of the della Rovere family had died in 1623: the female heir, his daughter Vittoria, was excluded from the succession by Pope Urban VIII, who wanted to control this territory and to prevent the alliance of the duchies of Tuscany and Urbino (Vittoria later became Grand Duchess of Tuscany). So effective was Urban's aggressive diplomacy that the ageing Duke Ferdinando Maria II abdicated in 1626, five years before his death.
62. Pastor 1938, 29: 382.

Sinigaglia, Pesaro, Rimini and Orvieto.[63] Since the Farnese fief of Castro was very near Rome, Urban wished to annex this as well, an attempt which resulted in war with Parma.[64]

Urban VIII was a poet, a friend of Chiabrera and Ciampoli and a great patron of the arts: so too were his nephews, the cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini.[65] While they amassed and spent considerable fortunes and gave assistance to the great Roman families such as the Colonna, Orsini, Savelli and Conti,[66] the state itself was heavily in debt; it owed about 16 million scudi in 1623, 35 million by 1640. Despite the imposition of frequent taxes, about 85% of total revenue was pre-empted for interest payments by 1640.[67]

Religion.

Whereas Protestantism had seemed a major threat in the middle of the sixteenth century, large areas of Europe reverted to Catholicism between 1590 and 1650, thanks to bickering amongst the Protestants and to the strong central organisation and firm dogma of the Catholics. For a few years the Venetians warmed to the Anglicans because of the English interest in Paolo Sarpi, whose *History of the Council of Trent*, banned by the Vatican, was first published in England; Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato in Dalmatia, actually converted to Anglicanism in 1616. The Venetians were anxious to maintain a strong independent government in the Palatine; when England failed to help the Elector in

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63. ibid., 29: 360, 364.
64. ibid., 29: 383; Innocent X was later to obtain it through diplomacy, Ranke 2: 186.
65. Pastor 1938, 29: 408, 425, 429, 433, 446ff, 455ff.
66. ibid. 29: 377.
67. ibid., 29: 380-81.

1620 the Venetians were disillusioned and de Dominis returned to the Roman faith.[68] By the 1620s, Pastor is probably right in saying that "Protestantism had practically vanished from Italy".[69]

During Gregory XV's pontificate there appear to have been no proceedings against heretics, although foreigners were still seen as a threat:

> The Pope's watchfulness to prevent all danger of heretical infection is shown by his severe prohibition, which was itself based on a similar decree of Clement VIII, of heretics taking up residence in Italy under any pretext whatsoever. Thus, at the close of 1622, we see the Pope insisting with the representative of Lucca on the removal of some Germans who were staying in that city for the purpose of learning the Italian language.[70]

Procedures for dealing with foreign heretics varied from state to state, but John Raymond seems to have been relieved to reach Venice in 1647:

> *Loyalas* Sonnes being exild thence, the Inquisition reacheth not so far as strangers, which made us *Hereticks* (as they call us) thinke wee were come out of the Land of Bondage, to a more secure Country.[71]

Indeed, one cause of Rome's quarrels with Venice was the apparent liberality shown in

> Venice's alliance with the German Protestants...the reception of the envoys of Bethlen Gábor and Holland; its friendship with the Turks; the toleration of Protestant worship in the houses of foreign envoys and the printing of anti-Catholic writings and lastly the long-standing encroachments on the rights of the Church.[72]

Such policies, however, were pragmatic, intended to further the political and commercial interests of the State: there is little doubt that the "cuius regio, eius religio" principle established at the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 was observed strictly in Venice - the "religio", of course, being Roman Catholic.

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68. Yates 1972, 131-32.
69. Pastor 1938, 29: 36.
70. ibid., 27: 105.
71. Raymond 1648, 200-1.
72. Pastor 1938, 29: 176-7.

One consequence of the religious fervour stimulated by the Counter-Reformation in the second half of the sixteenth century was the foundation of new religious orders such as the Jesuits, Theatines, Barnabites, Oratorians, Somaschi and Ursulines. Many of these came out of the cloister to play an active part in secular society, especially in education: most Italian schools were run by the Jesuits and Barnabites.[73] A good example of the rapid growth of such orders is the Congregazione dell'Oratorio, which was founded in Rome by Filippo Neri in 1575 and extended its activities to Naples in 1584;[74] between 1620 and 1645 it established nine further foundations in the Papal States, three in the Duchy of Milan, two in Sicily and one each in Tuscany and the Venetian Republic.[75]

The Oratorians sought to impress the people with morality through the attractions of spiritual happiness. One means of doing so was the cultivation of music to vernacular spiritual texts - both the simple *laude spirituali* and the more complex *madrigali spirituali* - to supplant profane music.[76] There are few surviving books of *madrigali spirituali* dating from after 1620, but many secular madrigal-books include some spiritual pieces.[77]

By the beginning of the seventeenth century heresy had become less of a threat to the status quo and the activity of the Inquisition in most parts of Italy began to decline. Apart from Sicily, which had the Spanish

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73. Martin 1981, 228; Correnti 1976, 97.
74. Martin 1981, 228.
75. Pastor 1938, 29: 22.
76. Martin 1981, 228-29.
77. In the 1660s, the Roman Mario Savioni's "concerti" a 3 (NV2565) and madrigals a 5 (NV2566) were intended to be paired together to form oratorio-cantatas: see Chapter 11, p. 265-6.

Inquisition, Italy came under the Roman Inquisition, which

> ...concerned itself with the veneration of Saints, marriage dispensations, grave moral delinquencies, sacrileges, the abuse of the Sacrament of Penance, false ecstasies and prophecies, witchcraft, superstition, above all with any teaching or expression of opinion contrary to the faith....[78]

Enforcement of these criteria outside Rome varied considerably depending on the latitude allowed to the Inquisition by the secular rulers.

> The Holy Office was never admitted into the Republic of Lucca and in Naples had to operate under the cloak of the episcopal courts. In Genoa, Savoy, Venice and later in Tuscany lay officials were either members of the court, contrary to customary procedure, or interfered freely in given cases. In these states any serious action contemplated by any ecclesiastical judge, such as arrest, extradition of a suspect to Rome, and confiscation of property depended on the assent of the secular authorities.[79]

In Milan, the full force of the Roman Inquisition operated, complete with forty armed henchmen,[80] whereas in Venice, although the Inquisitor was responsible for the censorship of heresy in printed books, the secular government retained control of political censorship and successfully resisted the introduction of the Index of prohibited books.[81]

Although the Roman Inquisition had far-reaching effects, it operated in a very different way to the Spanish institution. Tedeschi comments that

> ...while *moral* justice was impossible in a context where the Catholic church felt, in common with virtually all other secular and religious authorities on both sides of the Alps, that it had the right, even the duty to persecute those who differed in their religious beliefs, *legal* justice in sixteenth-century terms was dispensed by the Roman Inquisition.... Capricious and arbitrary decisions, misuse of authority, and wanton abuse of human rights were not tolerated.[82]

Pastor points out that after the introduction of new rules regarding evidence at witchcraft trials, no witches were burnt in Rome after 1635: this contrasts sharply with the situation in Protestant Europe.[83]

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78. Pastor 1938, 29: 35.
79. Tedeschi 1979, 245 n. 59.
80. Amabile 1892, 2: 4.
81. Pullan 1983, 12; see also Chapter 3.
82. Tedeschi 1979, 242.
83. Pastor 1938, 29: 39.

Tedeschi adds that sentences were relatively lenient: the death penalty was seldom used under the seventeenth-century Roman Inquisition, while the alarming term "carcere perpetuo" usually meant a prison sentence of up to three years, which could often be served under house arrest or in a hospital or monastery. Compared with secular courts, methods of trial were also very advanced in areas such as the defendant's right to counsel.[84] Conditions varied, however, according to the degree of control Rome had over the case. In the Kingdom of Naples, where the Inquisition had to operate through local archbishops' courts, conditions may have been more severe. Certain serious cases took many years to bring to trial. In general, however, political prisoners held by secular authorities probably received harsher treatment than heretics.[85]

In Sicily, the Spanish Inquisition was "a state within a state", manipulated by the barons in opposition to the viceroy. In 1636 lay judges were introduced in the Inquisition's court, and further restrictions were imposed in 1646 and 1654. As late as 1658, however, 32 people were executed at an *auto da fé*: one was burned at the stake.[86] As in other parts of Italy, the Inquisition's duties included the censorship of the press and of stage productions.

Madrigal patrons.

Although the political and economic factors described above obviously had considerable social impact, it is not easy to assess their effect on a specific point such as musical patronage. For example, the decline in commercial and industrial activity probably had a severe impact on the

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84. Tedeschi 1979, 242-244.
85. cf. Correnti 1976, 53-54.
86. ibid., 44-46.

"upper middle" classes; but as yet we know very little about them, let alone their role in artistic patronage. It is clear, however, that wealth was increasingly concentrated in the hands of the nobility, including the upper clergy, despite the collapse or disappearance of some leading families through bankruptcy or lack of descendants; and that this class began early in the seventeenth century to withdraw from any commercial activity and to emphasise their social position through the acquisition of land and by conspicuous display in dress, architecture, art and music.

Who were the patrons of the Italian madrigal in this period? The dedicatees of madrigal books give us at least some indication.[87] Map 2, p. 52, shows the geographical distribution of the dedicatees.

Despite the madrigal's "profane" words, the clergy figure prominently among its supporters:[88] they include twelve cardinals and many other high-ranking ecclesiastics, many of them also members of powerful families, such as Savoy and Medici. Although they are naturally concentrated in Rome, clergy dedicatees are found throughout the country, and they sponsored a wide range of music.

Members of most of the Italian ruling houses, such as Savoy, Farnese and Este, receive a few dedications, although few of them cultivated the madrigal at their own courts: many of these works are by composers in small centres within their jurisdiction. Duke Alessandro I Pico della Mirandola appears to have had a closer interest in the madrigal, as he employed Galeazzo Sabbatini as "maestro di capella di camera". The

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87. Further details are given in Appendix A and in discussions of individual composers.

88. This does not apply throughout the country, however: Larson in Bianconi & Bossa (eds.) 1983, 61, notes that most of the few Neapolitan music books dedicated to the clergy are sacred works.

Gonzaga family were outstandingly active in madrigal patronage, despite the upheavals over the Mantuan succession: most of the Gonzaga dedicatees had close ties with the Imperial court, and the relationship between the Gonzaga and Habsburg families is discussed further in Chapter 10. The Habsburgs, especially the emperors Ferdinand II and III, were outstanding patrons of the madrigal, not only receiving dedications but also employing the composers. Other notable patrons outside Italy are the dukes of Württemberg and Bavaria and the kings Sigismund III and Vladislav Sigismund of Poland. Within Italy, the English and Imperial ambassadors to Venice also received dedications, as did an unknown expatriate Englishman, John Watkin of Messina.

The Venetian patricians undoubtedly diverted much of their patronage to opera, but they also appear among dedicatees of madrigal-books; among those resident in Venice itself were members of the Delfino, Duodo, Mocenigo and Pozzo families, while the Venetian civilian and military governors of Treviso, Verona, Bergamo and Ravenna also received dedications. Rigatti's book of 1636 is dedicated to an entire governing body, the convocation of the city of Udine.

Since approximately one-third of the population of Rome consisted of clergy, there are relatively few dedications to non-clerical Romans. There is, however, one to Paolo Savelli, a Roman advisor to the Emperor and his ambassador to the Pope, and one to the painter Caterina Ginnasi - with a reference to the patronage of the uncle with whom she dwelt, a prominent cardinal. In the Papal States, the first of Costantini's Orvietan anthologies celebrates a local marriage, while notables in Fano and Pesaro also receive dedications from local composers. In the Spanish dominions, the Milanese and Sicilian nobility each attracted only a couple

of dedications, but within the Kingdom of Naples, members of the Agnese, Filomarino, Loffredo, Pompei, Sersale and Vento families were all active in madrigal patronage.

There are works dedicated to seven Florentine nobles, including Roberto Capponi, "prince" of the Accademia dei Rugginosi, and Nicolò Fabbroni, a *condottiere* who was treasurer of the order of St. Stephen; while the Sienese Desiderio Pecci was a well-known composer as well as a prominent jurist. Several northern madrigal-books are dedicated to professional musicians: Massimillo Fredutii and Francesco Usper were their dedicators' teachers, while Francesco Cavalli and Carlo Milanuzzi were regarded as distinguished colleagues of Rovetta and Donati. Although several composers mention their involvement with musical or literary academies and two dedicate works to their "princes", only two, the Desiosi of Cologna and the Spennati of Faenza, receive dedications as a body.

Even on the basis of this brief discussion, it will be evident that the madrigal was no longer receiving the continued and extensive support of a whole social class. The provincial courts in Italy which had proven so important in its development in the previous century were either suffering from uncertainty or warfare or else so wealthy that they could produce more lavish entertainments. A similar situation affected the major cities, where the madrigal became increasingly confined to a not especially influential intelligentsia. The greatest madrigal patrons of this era, instead, are princes of the church or of other nations.

MAP 2: DEDICATEES BY REGION

(All figures are approximate: see further details in Dedicatee Appendix)

CHAPTER 3: MUSIC PUBLISHING IN ITALY, 1620-55

The historiography of music publishing reflects the gaps in the primary material available. For example, the financial and legal difficulties of the Florentine publishers created much useful documentation which has remained in the local archives and from which Tim Carter has been able to assemble an overview of their activities,[1] while we still know remarkably little about Venetian publishers. Although each book to be published in Venice was required to be registered with several authorities, the registers for this period have yet to be located.

Any attempts at a survey of music publishing have had to rely heavily, if not exclusively, on prints which are still accessible: this may give a very distorted picture. For every two or three surviving madrigal-books there is an inventory reference to another which has disappeared (some of these references are listed in Table 1, p. 54). It is possible that surviving material may have been, not highly valued, but simply never used in performance.[2] Certainly very few of the copies I have examined in Italy and England bear any traces of use: many of the *unica* at Christ Church, Oxford, may never even have been opened. Not only is much surviving music apparently in "library" copies, but most inventories listing vanished material were also compiled abroad.[3] We still do not know, therefore, whether the material available today is an accurate reflection of the music that was favoured in seventeenth-century Italy.

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1. Carter 1989.
2. suggested in private communication from Tim Carter.
3. cf. Krummel 1980 (London) - although Wainwright 1988 suggests that not all the publications listed in the Martin catalogues were actually imported into England; Waldner 1916 (Innsbruck); De Vries 1900 (Amsterdam); Sampaio Ribiero 1967 (Lisbon). The Italian sources appear at present to be limited to the Vincenti catalogues (Mischiati 1984) and the eighteenth-century bibliographies of Pitoni and Mongitore.

TABLE 1: LOST MADRIGAL-BOOKS, ca. 1620-1655

Composer	Title	Dates	Published	Source
ALA, G.B.	5 a 2-4	-1665		G no. 18
BARERA, Rodiano	1 a 4	1624	Venetia	D 15
BASELLI, Costantino	Madr. spir.	-1635	Vincenti	E VIII 23
BELLIS, G.B. de	2 a 2-4 bc	1621	Napoli	Pitoni (C)
BERNARDI, Stefano	2 a 6	-1621	Vincenti	E VII 167/IX 173
BIANDRA', G.P.	3 a 2-5	1626-1633	[Venetia]	D 19
BIZZARRO Acc. Capr.	Madr. a 2-4	-1635	Vincenti	E VIII 1
BOLOGNINI, Bernardo	2 a 5	1604-1649		João IV (C)
CAPECE, Alessandro	*Sacr. conc.*	c.1623		João IV (C)
CARUSO, Giovanni	1 op.1	-1634		op.2 1634 (C)
CASENTINI, Marsilio	6 a ?	-1621	Vincenti	E VII 145/ IX 160
CASTALDI, Angelo	1 a 2-4	-1665		G no. 19
CODA, Federico	1 a 4	-1665		G no. 23
COLOMBINI, Francesco	3 a 5	-1665		G no. 23
COLOMBO, G.B.	Balli...a 2-4	-1635	Vincenti	E VIII 61
CREMONESE, Ambrosio	2 a 2-5	1636-1665		A/ C
FILIPPI, Gaspare	M. a 2-4	1632	Venetia	D 41
	2 a 1-2	1632-1640		D 42
	Scherzi am. a 3	-1665		G nos. 23 & 28
GIUDICE, C. del	M. a 2-4 bc	1628	Brea (Messina)	F
	Mot. e madr.	1635	Palermo	F
GUALTIERI, Antonio	2 a 2-4/5	1628	Vincenti	D 88/E IX 57
GUALTIERI, Alessandro	1 a 1-4	-1649		G no. 18/B 1; 299/
	(or a 2-4)			E IX 68
MARINI, Biagio	Mus. a 1-6	-1665		G no. 19
MONTESANO, Alfonso	2 a 5	1622-1632		Schütz (C)
	3 a 5	1622-1632		Schütz (C)
MUSSI, Giulio	*Stenti amor.*	ca.1621	Vincenti	E VII 147/IX 161
	=? 1 a 5	-1649		B 2; 156
PALAZZOTTO, Giuseppe	3 conc.	1632	Beltrano	Mongitore (C, NG)
PERSONE', Diego	1 a 4	1622	Venetia	D 155
	2 a 5	1622-1626		C
PORTO, Allegro	1 a 4	-1649		B 2;103
RICCIO, M.A.	2 a 5	-1649		B 1;302
ROSA, Cesare	3 a 5	1646	Beltrano	Pitoni (C)
ROSSI	M. a 3-4	1636	Venetia	D 180
SACRATI, Francesco	1 a 2-4	-1639	Vincenti	E IX 71/B 1;119
SARTI	Conc. a 2-4	1629	Venetia	D 189
TARDITI, Horatio	1 a 1-3	-1633		G no. 23
TARONI	2 a 1-3	1622-1639		D 198
TODESCHI, Simplicio	1 a 5	-1649		B 2; 98
	2 a 5	-1649	Vincenti	E IX 77
TORRE	1 a 2-5	1623	Venetia	D 200
VALENZA, Vincenzo	M. a 2-7	-1649	Vincenti	E IX 67
VILLELMO	5 a 1-4	1625	Venetia	D 217

A de Vries, 1900.
B Sampaio Ribiero, 1967.
C Larson and Pompilio, in Bianconi & Bossa (eds.) 1983, 126 ff.
D Krummel, 1980.
E Mischiati, 1984: on p. 19-20 he refutes Haberl's date of 1619, which may be a copying error, for VII (1621).
F Mongitore, cited Tiby 1969, 99.
G Waldner, 1916.

This chapter will draw on what information we have to describe the conditions within which publishers operated, the nature of their known publications, and the market they appear to have supplied.

Laws and regulations affecting publishing.

In virtually all of Italy except Venice, which is discussed separately below, both the Inquisition and the secular government had the right to censor books, and so licences from both bodies were usually required.[4] Lopez notes that in 1600, at a time of tension between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities in Naples, the archbishop's printer, Costantino Vitale, was imprisoned for publishing a notice to preachers from the archbishopric without a government licence.[5] The circulation of books was also restricted; in Naples those who printed or imported books without government consent risked confiscation and imprisonment. In 1625 booksellers were ordered to ignore ecclesiastical prohibitions: this created further difficulties for printers and sellers, who tended to confine themselves to "safe" material and leave scholars to obtain controversial books through personal contacts.[6] Tim Carter notes that this desire for safety led to an upsurge in music printing in late sixteenth-century Florence.[7]

Although each state had its own rules, printers of the madrigal-books I have examined do not generally include an imprimatur,[8] while all prints

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4. Correnti 1976, 114.
5. Lopez 1974, 235-6.
6. ibid., 236, 238-9.
7. Carter 1989, 14.
8. The exceptions are Rome (during the 1620s) and Bracciano.

outside Venice carry licences.[9] Two madrigal books from the Papal States bear evidence of direct censorship: in the texts of Cifra's fifth book a 5 (Rome 1621, NV573) the words "idolo" and "adora" are omitted, and in Pasquali's *Musiche varie* (Orvieto 1633, NV2146), "divino", "m'inchino" and "idoletto" are also missing: in both cases the offending words are filled in later in MS. Cenci (Rome 1647, NV544) avoids this problem by adding a simple disclaimer to the end of his preface: "Quanto si dice ne' Madrigali, s'intenda detto poeticamente, & non mai in senso contrario al Cattolico".[10] Direct control over local printing seems to have been fairly effective, but there is evidence that at least in Sicily, which had a large number of booksellers, some of them street-traders, prohibited books imported from other states were widely sold.[11]

One would expect the Index of prohibited books to have had some effect on composers in their choice of poetic texts; among the works to appear on it in the early seventeenth century were Mauritio Moro's *Giardino* (1602-1603), Stigliani's *Rime* (1605) and several works by Marino, among them *I baci* (1628) and *I trastulli* (1628). Some other titles may also refer to volumes of lyric verse, such as Vittorio Brigante, *Novi fiori* (1600) and Giovanni Paolo Ferrella, *Fioretti* (1618).[12] Other works in Italian on the Index in this period were mostly of a satirical or pornographic nature.[13] Stigliani and Marino were both employed by cardinals prominent in Rome, and it is noticeable that although Marino ran

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9. I refer to "licence" as meaning the inclusion on the title-page of the words "con licenza de' Superiori", while the "imprimatur" adds, usually on the reverse of the title-page, a Latin formula giving permission to print which is signed by two officials of the Inquisition.
10. "whatever is said in the madrigals should be understood poetically, and never in a sense contrary to the Catholic".
11. Correnti 1976, 111.
12. Hilgers 1904, 418-22.
13. ibid. 418-22; Reusch 1883, 1: 59.

into frequent trouble with Paul V over obscenity charges and eventually went into exile, none of his work was placed on the Index until the end of his life. Unauthorised Italian editions of Marino's epic *L'Adone*, first published in Paris, were appearing on the Index by June 1624; Marino returned to Italy shortly afterwards and was preparing an official, approved version at his death in 1625.[14] Although *L'Adone* thus remained on the Index, scholars had no difficulty obtaining permission to read it until about 1650:[15] not only do several madrigal-books draw on the work,[16] but an opera based on it, Domenico Mazzocchi's *La catena d'Adone*, was composed for leading circles in Rome in 1626.

Many Index entries refer in any case to individual editions of works later "corrected" and republished.[17] Some such censorship took place behind closed doors: Battistella notes that the inquisitor in Bologna received orders to suppress Melisone's "heroicomic" poem *La secchia* in 1622 pending revisions, but not to make the fact of the book's suppression public.[18]

Venice.

It has already been shown that Venice had a special political relationship with Rome, which meant that there was less emphasis on religious censorship. There was also a marked decline in prosecutions for possession of prohibited books in the seventeenth century,[19] perhaps

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14. Mirollo 1963, 91.
15. ibid., 100.
16. almost all texts in Marastoni's book of 1628 (NV1570) come from *L'Adone*.
17. Reusch 1883, 1: 159, 162.
18. Battistella 1905, 157.
19. Pullan 1983, 9-11.

because fear of Lutheranism was waning.[20] Even so, the new rules for the Index in 1596 caused some printers to leave Venice: the number of presses reportedly fell from 125 to 40.[21] The inquisitor retained the power of censorship of heresy, but this was sometimes resisted by the secular government. In 1623 the Doge's printer issued the second volume of Morosini's official history of Venice, including a Venetian account of the row a few years earlier with the Papacy over Paolo Sarpi. Although the inquisitor refused to license it, the printer could not be punished by church authorities since in Venice the Holy Office was not allowed its own police force or powers of arrest. The government also successfully resisted the proposal that printers, publishers and booksellers should have to swear obedience to the Index and ban likely heretics from their guild.[22] From 1562 Venice had had its own means of control over politically sensitive material.[23]

Given the importance of the publishing industry to Venice's export trade and the carefully-regulated nature of Venetian society, it is not surprising that publishers should have been strictly controlled by local legislation. A law of 1601 forbade the export of printing materials and made printers seek permission before they could leave, while legislation of 1603 set a required number of revisions and proof-readings and the quality of paper to be used, and also provided for the inclusion of errata, the keeping of MS and proofs, the establishment of San Marco as a deposit library, the duration of copyright (forfeited if the book was badly printed), employment of guild members and inspection by guild officers, and fines for false imprints: giving a false place of publication

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20. H.F. Brown 1891, 107ff.
21. ibid., 148-9, 155.
22. Pullan 1983, 12, 41-2.
23. Grendler 1977, 148.

was a ruse sometimes used to avoid censorship.[24] But in the end, Brown adds drily, "this excellent law was not operative". The guild's copyright register is no longer available, if it ever existed.[25]

To obtain a licence, a book had to be examined by the inquisitor, a public reader and the Doge's secretary, then registered with the Riformatori dello Studio di Padova, the Council of Ten and the Esecutori contro la Bestemmia: an expensive process (since most of these people had to be paid) which took up to three months.[26] Grendler estimates that in the sixteenth century one in ten new books was issued without a licence.[27]

To what extent these laws applied to music printing is uncertain: a list of 1608, setting tariffs for proof-readers according to the type-face used, does not mention music notation.[28] Agee notes a "virtual cessation of Senate documents dealing with music prints in 1603" and relates this to the breakdown in relations between Venice and Rome.[29] What is striking, when one examines Venetian madrigal-books of 1620-51, is that, although a licence was legally compulsory and a privilege (which protected the publisher against piracy) optional,[30] there are almost twice as many books without a licence as with one. Yet this cannot be simply evidence of large numbers of illegal editions, since over half of the books appearing without licences proudly state "con privilegio".[31] Further, while only works never before printed could receive a privilege

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24. for example, Marino's scurrilous *Murtoleide* appeared with a "Francofort" imprint in 1626.
25. H.F. Brown 1891, 175-7.
26. Grendler 1977, 152-4.
27. ibid., 9.
28. H.F. Brown 1891, 178.
29. Agee 1983, 4-5.
30. ibid., 1.
31. Grendler 1977, 131, states that a licence was not normally sought for music.

and a licence was not usually required for reprints,[32] there are instances where books acquire privileges and/or licences when they are reprinted.[33] The privilege, unlike the licence, may have been a status symbol suggesting high-quality music - in some cases used as a sop to the vanity of the patron or composer. On a more practical level, the protection against piracy which it conferred may have been important to a trade relying so heavily upon exports, although it is unlikely that this protection could have been enforced abroad.

General condition of music publishing.

It is worth recapitulating and expanding upon some of the conclusions reached by Angelo Pompilio in his overview of Italian music printing 1550-1650, which is based on the *RISM* and *NV* listings of surviving material.[34]

In terms of numbers of editions on a national basis, production peaks around 1610, remains very high to the early 1620s, and slumps in the 1630s, gradually recovering to a level similar to that of the 1560s. The 1630s slump is in part due to the plague of 1630-1631 (neither of the major Venetian music publishers printed any music in 1631) but the downward trend was already apparent in the 1620s, brought on by the 1619-22 economic crisis.[35]

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32. Agee 1983, 5.
33. e.g. Sabbatini's first book of 1625 (NV2499), initially published "con privilegio", acquires a licence (NV2500-1): reprints of both Merula and Turini acquire privileges - although in the case of Turini (1 a 1-3 NV2769) the privileged reprint (NV2771) is by a different publisher and includes some new material.
34. Pompilio in Bianconi & Bossa (eds.) 1983, 79-102: I am grateful to him for access to his card files.
35. ibid., 81.

As the overall number of music prints fell, an increasing proportion came from centres other than Venice, especially Rome and Naples: since most reprints were undertaken by Venetian firms, reprints became somewhat rarer after 1610.[36] This is a late echo of a decentralisation already apparent in other branches of publishing from the middle of the sixteenth century. Grendler notes that a declining quality of accuracy and typography made Venetian books in general suffer a gradual loss of favour, although they were cheaper than those from other centres.[37] In music, although there was a noticeable drop in quality in the seventeenth century, Venetian books were generally no worse produced than those from other centres, while the price advantage remained. Carter calculates that, in Venice, printing costs per sheet were half those of Florence:[38] when the Modena court was buying music in 1622, most Venetian madrigal books - bound - cost less than 1 lira 10 soldi, with Monteverdi's book 7, with its extra part-books, costing 3 lire: Nenna's book 8, imported from Rome, cost 6 lire, four times the price of its Venetian counterparts.[39] In Vincenti's catalogue of 1649, inflation had taken the price of most madrigal-books to between three and five lire, while Monteverdi's massive eighth book of 1638 cost 16 lire.[40] The usual print-run for books in general in both Venice and Florence was 1000 copies:[41] in sixteenth-century Venice a privilege was not granted for a print-run of fewer than 400.[42] As the number of copies sold locally was often small, perhaps less than forty in a state like Tuscany,[43] the need to export to sustain

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36. ibid., 82: rapid diversification in musical styles may also have led masters such as Marenzio whose work had hitherto been much reprinted to fall from favour - 83.
37. Grendler 1977, 229, 231.
38. Carter 1989, 16.
39. Fabbri 1980, 74.
40. Mischiati 1984, IX: 78.
41. Grendler 1977, 9; Carter 1989, 6.
42. Grendler 1977, 9.
43. Carter 1989, 6.

a publishing industry becomes obvious - and although Venice declined as a trading power, other centres would have been even worse placed to reach foreign markets.[44]

During the decade 1600-1610, prints of sacred music begin to outnumber the secular, a lead they retain after the slump. One may attribute this to intense Counter-Reformation activity,[45] or more simply to the fact that, with the standardisation of liturgies through the Council of Trent, most churches no longer needed to compile all the music for their own rites in manuscript, but could use what was available as it was printed: rapid changes in style may also have led many churches to invest in new music for their declining numbers of musicians.[46] Rapid diversification is also evident in secular music: a single year (1615) saw the publication of Marco da Gagliano's *Varie musiche*, Alessandro Grandi's first book of *concertato* madrigals, and Stefano Bernardi's *Concerti academici* - the last adding instrumental pieces to the vocal solos and duets. However, unlike their ecclesiastical counterparts, these works did not have the benefit of a specific market.[47]

The publishers: Venice.

The chief publishers of music in the first half of the seventeenth century had both established themselves during the sixteenth-century boom. The firm begun by Antonio Gardane had its heyday in the 1590s under his son Angelo, who died in 1611: it was then taken over by

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44. Pompilio in Bianconi & Bossa (eds.) 1983, 82.
45. ibid., 84.
46. Carter 1986-87, 22-23.
47. ibid., 27-32 includes some interesting observations on the relative importance of different types of scoring in secular publications between 1580 and 1624.

Angelo's son-in-law Bartolomeo Magni, whose son Francesco continued the firm from 1651 to 1685.[48] That Bartolomeo Magni was very much aware of the importance of the Gardano firm's reputation is evident in his titlepages, where he almost always used the formula "stampa del Gardano", with or without the addition of his own name. This firm printed only music, with a preference for secular music and a particular affection for the madrigal.[49] Giacomo Vincenti started as a partner of Amadino from 1583-1586 before establishing his own firm: as well as madrigals, he reprinted Caccini's *Euridice* and *Le nuove musiche*. Alessandro Vincenti continued the firm from 1619 to 1667; the firm's willingness to diversify is shown in its non-musical publications.[50]

There are indications that both major publishers took a personal interest in the madrigal. Vincenti seems to have taken an active part in the promotion of the blind Martino Pesenti's work, which he edited and provided with dedications (he may also have lined up patrons), and there are reports of Monteverdi frequenting his shop, which was a forum for intellectual discussion.[51] Magni was probably also musical - he published madrigals by his brother Benedetto, while another brother, Giovanni, was organist at S. Maria in Porto in Rome - but he does not seem to have been greatly interested in the newest developments. By the 1620s, the Gardano house seems to have lost some of its prestige: many of Magni's

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48. Boorman in NG, 11: 494. Bartolomeo may have died as early as 1644, as from then until 1650 title-pages carried only "stampa del Gardano": Francesco's name appeared from 1651.
49. Pompilio in Bianconi & Bossa (eds.) 1983, 85.
50. Sartori 1958, 164; Bridges in NG, 19: 783-4; Pompilio in Bianconi & Bossa (eds.) 1983, 85-86. Vincenti's last madrigal-book - Tarditi's *Canzonette e madrigaletti* - appeared in 1652, and there is evidence that his output had declined even earlier. Marini's book of 1649 appeared in Milan, and Vincenti refers in Pesenti's book of 1641 to suffering an attack of paralysis: see 1: 179.
51. Whenham in Arnold and Fortune (eds.) 1985, 238, quoting Bellerofonte Castaldi.

publications are opus 1's by minor composers, while Alessandro Vincenti gradually acquired such important madrigalists as Martino Pesenti, Galeazzo Sabbatini, Giovanni Rovetta, Claudio Monteverdi (1638) and Biagio Marini (1641). All Tuscan madrigal-books printed in Venice in this period were published by Magni, while Vincenti published all the madrigal-books from Genoa and Milan: this appears to indicate a geographical division of labour. In contrast to publishers in other Italian cities, the Venetian publishers had both begun with madrigal publishing as their major activity, and both remained strongly attached to it. Unfortunately we have too little data about either firm to determine whether this attachment may have led them to subsidise certain madrigal publications. When Francesco Magni inherited the Gardano/Magni firm in 1651, he turned away from the madrigal and towards sacred and instrumental music.

Outside Venice.

For firms outside Venice, music publishing was a minor part of their operations: no non-Venetian publisher is known to have produced more than seven madrigal-books in the whole period from 1620 to 1655. In most of the country, printing of sacred music outweighed that of secular: this is particularly true in Rome, the Papal States and Milan. In Naples and Sicily the continuing tradition of the noble amateur composer resulted in a trickle of madrigal books from local presses during the 1620s. As non-Venetian publishers issued too little music to warrant catalogues, it is even harder to build up an accurate picture of what was published in these centres than it is for Venice. Music published outside Venice was also less likely to reach those places abroad where most of the known inventories were compiled: Innsbruck, Lisbon, Amsterdam, and London.[52]

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52. see p. 53 above.

Rome suddenly became a music publishing centre in the 1610s. G.B. Robletti (active 1609-50) published several books on behalf of others, and two sacred and three secular anthologies on his own account: his madrigal books were mainly published before 1625, but he also printed Pasquali's *Varie musiche* in Orvieto in 1633 (NV2146); his other provincial outposts were at Tivoli and Rieti.[53] Between 1621 and 1623 Michelangelo Fei and Rinaldo Ruuli produced three secular anthologies and one sacred in Orvieto: Fei later published some of Doni's theoretical works in Rome. Luca Antonio Soldi was active only briefly, from 1619 to 1625, his last madrigal book appearing in 1623:[54] he may have had some connection with Robletti or Zannetti, since he used the same printing works.[55] He published music by Cifra, Anerio, Kapsberger and Frescobaldi. Ludovico Grignani (active 1630-50) published madrigals by Capponi in 1640 (NV486) and by Cenci in 1647 (NV544); his musical output comprised mostly sacred music and treatises by Kircher, Romano Micheli and P.P. Sabbatini.[56] Angelo Masotti printed one madrigal book in 1627, as well as some oratorio scores and Monteverdi's edition of Arcadelt's first book a 4 in 1627 and 1630.

Francesco Zannetti, who published two books in 1638 - one of them Domenico Mazzocchi's madrigals (NV1777), with a score - was presumably connected with Luigi and Bartolomeo Zannetti, who had both published some

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53. Sartori 1958, 132.
54. Cifra's sixth book a 5, NV574.
55. Boorman in NG, 17: 449.
56. Boorman in NG, 7: 730.

music earlier in the century.[57] Vitale Mascardi (active 1640-67) was also part of a line of printers:[58] he published many of the anthologies edited by Florido de' Silvestris, including the two *Floridi concenti* of 1652-53. He also published Domenico dal Pane's first book of 1652 (NV684) and the first few volumes of the 22 willed for posthumous publication by Pier Francesco Valentini, including the two madrigal-books in 1654 (NV2788-9).

Milan.

Milan was a much smaller publishing centre than Rome, and closely geared to the local market, publishing chiefly sacred music by local composers.[59] Carlo Camagno published eight books of music between 1645 and 1650, including two madrigal books; the firm lasted into the early eighteenth century.[60] Boorman says, rather condescendingly:

> The output of the firm was concentrated almost exclusively on the sacred music of local composers, of whom the most important were apparently thought to be Grancini and Bagatti *[sic]*.[61]

Apart from Filippo Lomazzo, who issued seventeen prints in the 1630s,[62] few Milanese publishers active between 1620-55 produced more than a handful of sacred music, treatises and guitar books. Giorgio Rolla (active 1619-51) produced some 35 prints including Cantone's *Accademia festevole* of 1627 and Pasta's *Arie* of 1634:[63] the latter's madrigals, *Affetti d'Erato* of 1626 (NV2148), were published in Venice by Vincenti.

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57. Boorman in NG, 20: 642.
58. Boorman in NG, 11: 745.
59. Pompilio in Bianconi & Bossa (eds.) 1983, 87.
60. Donà 1961 (organised by date), 1645.
61. Boorman in NG, 3: 636.
62. a mere shadow of Tini and Lomazzo's 138 publications between 1583 and 1612 - Donà 1961, 1600-1630; Boorman in NG, 11: 140.
63. Donà 1961, 1619-59; Boorman in NG, 16: 112.

Naples and Sicily.

From 1620 onwards, Naples was the third largest music publishing centre after Venice and Rome, largely thanks to Ottavio Beltrano, whom Sartori describes as a typical representative of the nomadic Italian publishers of the seventeenth century:[64] he was active at Cosenza, Sorrento, Montefusco, Benevento and Ancona as well as Naples. All of his madrigal-books (at least five between 1621 and 1640) were printed in Naples: until 1623 the madrigal and villanella dominated the music market there.[65] Pompilio notes the unusual frequency in Naples of books printed at the bookseller's request.[66] Other publishers active in Naples from 1620 were G.B. Maringo, who published one madrigal-book there in 1620 during a career otherwise spent in Palermo (1603-35); Costantino Vitale, who published four books in 1620-22, and who had published much of the work of the Neapolitan madrigalists since 1603; Magnetta, who published Gesualdo's posthumous book for six voices in 1626 (NV1178) and Personè's fourth book in 1628 (NV2185) as well as reprinting Zoilo's madrigals in 1627; and Lazaro Scorriggio, who published Dentice's *Madrigali spirituali* in 1629 (NV812). In Sicily, Maringo published a few works in Palermo, including Palazotto's madrigals of 1620, while Pietro Brea published Bonaffino's madrigals in Messina in 1623.[67]

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64. Sartori 1958, 22.
65. Pompilio in Bianconi & Bossa (eds.) 1983, 87.
66. ibid., 94: not only reprints of Arcadelt but also the reprint of Zoilo's madrigals in 1627, for example.
67. Evola 1940, 35, describes the typography of the Brea firm (1594-1671) as being of outstandingly high quality, but this isolated madrigal-book is carefully but clumsily printed.

Florence.

Most Tuscan composers published their madrigals in Venice, and it may be no coincidence that the only two madrigal prints published by Zanobi Pignoni after 1620 appeared in 1631, when the Venetian presses were shut down by the plague. One of these, however, is a canon printed as a broadsheet (NV2849), hardly a form favoured by the Venetian publishers. Pignoni had a long but sporadic music publishing career; he bought out the Marescotti firm in the early 1610s and continued printing at least to 1641.[68] The only other local madrigal publication in this period is Filippo Vitali's second book a 5 (NV2944), issued in 1623 by Pietro Cecconcelli.

New publications of madrigals.

It may be helpful to summarise here some of the chief trends which emerge from the more detailed discussion in Chapters 5-10. By 1620 the cultivation of the *a cappella* madrigal was already confined to a few localities and to certain intellectual and social circles, most notably in Naples and Rome. These works were generally published locally, while until the mid-1640s madrigals with continuo, which form most of the repertoire under discussion, were normally published in Venice. *Concertato* madrigals usually appeared in a standardised format of upright quarto part-books with the pieces ordered by ascending number of voices. This type of publication, a logical progression from the usual format of *a cappella* books, appears to have been the simplest and cheapest to produce. As madrigal-books become less frequent, an increasing proportion include parts for additional melodic instruments. The use of scores also becomes more common, mostly in the form of solo or duet pieces printed in

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68. Carter 1989, 29.

score in the basso continuo part-book of a larger collection. Such developments would have added considerably to the cost of the publication and the technical difficulties involved.

Only five madrigal anthologies were published between 1620 and 1655. Costantini's collections (Orvieto: Fei & Ruuli, 1621 and 1622; OV1621.1, 1622.1) actually include very few madrigals: most pieces are strophic songs, and the cheap paper and cramped type-setting reinforce the impression that these anthologies were intended for the local market. The collection of settings of G.B. Anselmi's poetry in 1624 (OV1624.2) appears to have been an expensive whim on the part of the noble poet. De Silvestris' two *Floridi concenti* (OV1652.1, 1653.1), on the other hand, adapt the principle of his earlier motet anthologies to the secular field: they contain one or two up-to-date pieces for three voices and continuo by each of a large number of composers, most of whom were well-known in Rome. Almost none of the work contained in any of these collections was published elsewhere: much appears to have been specially commissioned.[69]

Not only are anthologies of selections from already-published collections, which were fairly frequent in the boom years of the madrigal, completely absent from this period in Italy: but there are also very few madrigal-books which contain guest appearances by other composers, as in Montesano's book of 1622 (NV1896) which includes a couple of pieces by the senior Neapolitan composer Francesco Genuino. This had earlier been a common practice, especially as a way of launching one's composition

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69. exceptions are: the pieces by Boschetti in the Costantini collections, previously published in Boschetti's *Strali d'amore*, 1618; a few pieces from the Anselmi collection, which were subsequently republished in the next complete books by their composers; while the pieces by Virgilio Mazzocchi in the first *Florido concento* are posthumous publications and therefore cannot have been commissioned for this book.

pupils: in this period the few examples are generally found among the more traditionalist composers.

The overall quality of production in seventeenth-century madrigal-books is somewhat lower than in the sixteenth century: many books are printed in faint ink on poorish paper, with the moveable type assembled so loosely that the staves emerge as dotted lines. Engraving, which was first used for music by Simone Verovio in the late sixteenth century, is employed only for occasional coats of arms on title-pages,[70] although it would have been useful in the more florid music, where runs in small note-values are still left unbeamed. The quality of paper and typography varies from publication to publication rather than from place to place or even printer to printer - the output of the Venetian publishers covers a considerable range of standards. However, the best and the worst publications are both produced by printers for whom music was not a regular part of the business: in Rome, for example, Zannetti makes a beautiful job of the Mazzocchi scores, which live up to the promise of their two-colour title-pages, while Soldi's publications of Cifra's madrigals have crowded layout and fuzzy typography on poor-quality paper.

It is hard to determine the degree of accuracy when there is only one edition of most works, but in general there appear to be few errors in pitch, note-values, clefs, signatures or text. Even the most experienced music printers, however, are caught out sometimes in the placement of accidentals, and above all in continuo figuring: the latter was, after all, a recent development, still inconsistently employed by the composers, and it was probably not easy to spot errors when the work was being printed in part-books.

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70. and one portrait: Martino Pesenti in his *Capricci* of 1647, NV2198.

Reprints.

Works reprinted in this period can be divided for convenience into two main categories: re*prints* of contemporary works (dating from ca. 1615 onwards), which are subject to little editorial intervention and appear to be intended for their original purpose, i.e. performance; and re-*issues* of earlier material, often considerably changed for the new edition, which served a variety of purposes, discussed below.

Very few contemporary madrigal-books seem to have been popular enough to warrant reprinting. The reprints in this category were carried out by the major Venetian firms, especially Vincenti.[71] The works of Bernardi, Grandi, Pesenti, Rovetta, Galeazzo Sabbatini and Monteverdi (his seventh book of 1619) all generated several reprints, while there are more isolated reprints of works by Marco da Gagliano, Merula, Possenti and Turini. Whether all of these were "genuine" reprints, indicating that the work had sold sufficiently well to merit a new run, remains a moot point. Capuana's book of 1647 (NV488) bears the wording "nuovamente ristampati" on its title-page, although there is no other evidence that it is a reprint,[72] and Magni, at least, was not above changing the date on several title-pages of Marini's works, presumably to make them appear hotter off the press.[73]

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71. the only non-Venetian reprint of a contemporary book is that of Zoilo's first book a 5 (Venice: Magni, 1620, NV3028) by Magnetta in Naples in 1627 (NV3029) - especially notable for the omission of the basso continuo part.
72. the dedication, for example, implies that the book is appearing for the first time.
73. see Chapter 8, 1: 175, for further discussion.

Re-issues.

The classic and often-cited example of a standard text frequently reissued is Arcadelt's first book a 4 (1539), reprinted at least nine times in Bracciano, Rome and Naples between 1620 and 1654 at the request of local book-sellers. These editions contained a high proportion of pieces by G.D. Nola, and the editors included Monteverdi and Florido de Silvestris (NV140-148). De Silvestris also edited one version of the Lupachino/Tasso madrigals for two voices: this book also appeared twice in Rome.[74] The Venetian publishers, on the other hand, preferred its contemporary, Gero's first book a 2, which was reprinted once by Magni and five times by Vincenti between 1622 and 1662,[75] and continued to be reprinted by Francesco Magni and Gioseppe Sala,[76] as well as appearing in Orvieto in 1632 and 1644.[77] Magni and Vincenti, however, also continued to reprint slightly more recent works, such as Asola's madrigals for two voices of 1587;[78] the early Banchieri madrigal-comedies;[79] Nenna's seventh book a 5 of 1608 and first book a 4 of 1613;[80] Salomone Rossi's third book a 5 of 1603;[81] and the first six books by Monteverdi, which Magni re-issued between 1620 and 1622.[82]

In my opinion these works were intended for three different audiences: composition students, singing students and amateur singers. Arcadelt's

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74. first published in 1565, NV1522; Roman versions RISM 1620.19 and 1650.8; de Silvestris pub. Bracciano: Fei, 1642; RISM 1642.7, not in NV.
75. NV1134-7, 1140-1.
76. 1672, NV1142; 1677, 1682, 1687, NV1143-5.
77. NV1138-9.
78. Vincenti 1625, 1665, NV176-7.
79. Magni, 1620s, NV210, 212, 232.
80. NV2027, reprinted Magni 1624, NV2031; NV2016, reprinted Vincenti, 1621, with continuo added by Carlo Milanuzzi, NV2017.
81. the 1620 Venetian reprint, NV2453bis, is now lost.
82. NV1902, 1905, 1913, 1920, 1930, 1934.

book appears to have been a standard text in composition teaching. Masotti's reference in the preface to Monteverdi's edition to "questi madrigali, che a giovani sogliono essere il primo indirizzo in questa scienza..." may apply equally to composition and to singing tuition.[83] Likewise, works for two voices may also have been used in teaching counterpoint, but a more immediate application would have been in teaching sight-singing: manuals for this purpose such as Banchieri's *Il principiante fanciullo* (1625) also supply two-part exercises derived from madrigals.[84] The reprints of selected books from the heyday of the *a cappella* madrigal suggest an audience of interested amateur singers, especially of the kind to be found in the Low Countries.

The music being printed in Flanders and Holland at the time indicates that there was still great interest in this repertoire. In Antwerp, the Phalèse firm continued at least until 1644 to reprint the great madrigals of the late sixteenth century. Besides the Monteverdi books,[85] it reprinted Marenzio's sixth to ninth books for five voices and its own anthologies, *Musica divina* of 1583 (1623, 1634), *Harmonia celeste*, also of 1583 (1628), *Melodia olimpica* of 1591 (1630), and *Trionfo di Dori* of 1592 (1628). Gastoldi's *balletti* of 1591 and 1594 continued to be an outstanding success: Phalèse reprinted them in 1624, 1631, 1637 and 1640. The cosmopolitan Dutch also took the unusual step of translating them into their own language, and this version was printed four times in Amsterdam between 1628 and 1657. On the other hand, few contemporary Italian madrigals were reprinted in the Low Countries: the exceptions are Colombini's *concertato* madrigals for five voices [1618?] which survive

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83. NV142: "these madrigals, which are usually the first direction young people receive in this science..." It is interesting to note that despite our association of scores with study purposes (see for example Bianconi 1987, 5-6), Arcadelt's madrigals were never published in score.
84. Banchieri uses pieces by many important madrigalists from Arcadelt onwards.
85. fourth book, 1644, NV1921; sixth book, 1639, NV1935.

only in Phalèse's reprint of 1640 (NV597); Galeazzo Sabbatini's second book of 1626 (NV2502), also reprinted by Phalèse in 1640 (NV2504); and Rovetta's first book of 1629 (NV2461), which was reprinted in Rotterdam in 1660 (NV2464) following two Venetian reprints.

Dissemination.

The sale of music, as opposed to its publication, has only recently begun to be investigated, so my comments are limited to sounding a warning note. Although the inventories compiled abroad show that music published in Venice, at least, was exported very speedily to major cities all over Western Europe, the distribution of printed music within Italy appears to have been more problematic: the Modena court, for example, apparently had to turn to an agent in Venice in order to purchase madrigal-books up to twenty years old.[86] Until a great deal more is known about local booksellers and their means of supply, we should be wary of assuming that because a particular book had been published by a certain date other musicians would soon have had access to it: much music undoubtedly circulated through personal contacts rather than retailers. This has considerable implications when we investigate the diffusion of a particular style, whether of composition or of performance.

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86. Fabbri 1980, 74.

CHAPTER 4: TEXTS AND SETTINGS

This chapter will give a brief overview of the kinds of texts set in seventeenth-century madrigals and of the ways in which they differ from those set earlier, before illustrating these points through a case study of a group of related texts. Against this background it will be easier to make sense of the comments on texts included in subsequent chapters. There are few clear-cut distinctions between the types of text used in different kinds of madrigal setting.

Table 1, p. 76, shows a selection of statistics drawn from the 2210 texts contained in the madrigal-books upon which this study is based. The seventeenth-century madrigal relies almost entirely on recent texts (i.e. later than 1580), with a few settings of classics by Petrarch, Sannazaro and Tansillo. It has so far been possible to establish the authorship of about a third of the texts within this sample. Many of the identified texts are drawn from the larger lyric collections of Marino and Guarini and anthologies of poetry such as Petracci's *Ghirlanda dell'Aurora* of 1609 and Fiamma's *Gareggiamento poetico* of 1611.[1] It is also probable that many composers obtained their texts from other musical sources. Table 1b shows that almost a quarter of the texts used in this period had been set at some time by other composers, while about a seventh were set at least twice even after 1620. Although many poems which attracted a large number of settings were also readily available in poetic collections, notably the Guarini and Marino madrigals which account for all the poems set more than six times, some texts were not so readily

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1. cf. Bianconi 1982, 13. The figures for anthologies in Table 1a *exclude* the individual authors listed, many of whose works were also included in these anthologies.
See Vassalli 1988 for an indexed listing of Tasso settings; Martini 1981 for literary discussion of the *Gareggiamento*.

TABLE 1

All the texts contained in each madrigal-book are included for the purposes of this survey, including those set for fewer than three voices and/or in forms other than the madrigal.

a) AUTHORS.

MARINO			168
i.e.:	madrigals	90	
	other forms in *Lira*	52	
	Sampogna	9	
	L'Adone	17	
GUARINI			120
i.e.:	madrigals	91	
	other lyric verse	5	
	Pastor fido	24	
RINALDI			37
CHIABRERA			28
TASSO			23
i.e.:	madrigals	14	
	other lyrics	2	
	Gerusalemme liberata	7	
RINUCCINI			18
PRETI			18
TESTI			8
PETRARCH			8
i.e.:	sonnets	6	
	other lyrics	2	
OTHER AUTHORS IN ANTHOLOGIES			186
	Ghirlanda and *Gareggiamento*	106	
	other anthologies	80	
AUTHORS IDENTIFIED THROUGH OTHER SOURCES			**244**
TOTAL NUMBER OF ATTRIBUTABLE TEXTS			**858**

b) NUMBER OF SETTINGS OF EACH TEXT.

In calculating the proportion of the 2210 sample texts which received more than one setting, the "post-1620" figure counts only settings after 1620, while the "global" figure also includes settings from before 1620 listed in NV.

	Global	*Post-1620*
Two settings	169	203
Three settings	89	91
Four settings	72	25
Five settings	46	12
Six settings	19	7
Seven or more settings	159	11
TOTAL:	524	349

accessible, and were more likely to be drawn from music-books.[2] While some composers may have written their own texts, others were members of academies, or, like Domenico Mazzocchi, received texts from poets who had links with themselves or their patrons.

Most texts are in the "madrigal" form, an irregular concatenation of up to fourteen lines of seven or eleven syllables, with no fixed scheme of metre or rhyme. Whether or not they were written to be set to music, madrigal-form texts dominate the poetic collections of the early seventeenth century, and especially the anthologies. The madrigals of G.B. Marino and his contemporaries tend to be shorter and denser than those of earlier writers; this compactness favours the shorter musical phrases used in the *concertato* madrigal. A number of the most frequently-set texts are drawn from Guarini's play *Il pastor fido*: these, despite their dramatic intent, are effectively in madrigal form. Among the fixed-form verses, ottavas, the narrative eight-line stanzas used in epics such as Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, are usually set as strophic variations over a stylized bass pattern: the seventeen lyrical passages selected by composers from Marino's *L'Adone*, however, are mostly set as madrigals.[3] Older texts, such as those by Petrarch, tend to be set by the more "old-fashioned" composers (such as Zoilo), or by those experimenting with an extended musical form (such as Monteverdi). Whereas there are hardly any settings of non-madrigal texts by Guarini, almost half the poems by Marino set during this period are in non-madrigal forms, especially the sonnet. Most of these are unique settings by composers of somewhat avant-garde tendencies, whereas many of the madrigals are as widely set

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2. a clear instance is the setting by Grancini of two texts attributed to Piazzoli in earlier settings by Pasta: see 1: 157.
3. Mirollo 1963, 76 quotes Stigliani's claim that *L'Adone* was not an epic but "a poem of madrigals".

as those by Guarini. Among the minor poets, some, such as Cesare Rinaldi, Caccianemici and Contarini, contribute almost solely madrigal-form texts, mainly through the medium of the anthologies, while a few - notably Casoni and Testi - feature largely as writers of fixed or extended forms.

In general, it is a Marinist poetic tradition that dominates the madrigal books.[4] The anacreontic lyrics brought into Italian verse by Chiabrera are strophic and with unusual, strongly-marked metres; they are not flexible enough to be used in the madrigal proper, although "scherzi" and "concerti" based on them are occasionally included in madrigal books.

The texts used in the seventeenth century differ from their sixteenth-century counterparts in both style and subject-matter, and this changes the nature of the musical setting required. Modern literary critics tend to see a continuous tradition running through Tasso, Guarini and Marino: as it progresses, the texts become less discursive and more epigrammatic.[5] The syntax tends to move away from that of everyday speech, sometimes to the point where a few sharp, witty phrases, making no sense on their own, are eventually seen to head towards a particularly twisted metaphor. The sixteenth-century tropes are taken for granted and compressed in the seventeenth century; where the sixteenth century would refer to "a hand as white as snow", a seventeenth-century writer may simply put "animate snow" for a moving hand. The style sometimes verges on self-parody, no longer intended to be taken quite seriously; it is a pity that no-one set Artale's metaphor of the sun, "del padellon del ciel

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4. Simon & Gidrol 1973 supply a useful, if incomplete, listing of settings of Marino's poetry.
5. Besomi 1969, first chapter esp. 31; Calcaterra 1951, 64-65; Mirollo 1963, 144-157, 193, 196.

la gran frittata".[6] The search for new and more extraordinary metaphors leads poets away from images which can be directly expressed in musical terms: composers, in their turn, begin to pay more attention to declamation and the development of independent melody, and less to word-painting.

As regards subject matter, Love continues to reign supreme, but there is a great change in how it is treated. Petrarch and the Petrarchans concerned themselves with the nature of the poet's feelings for a beloved who remained an abstraction: at the end of the *Canzoniere* all we know of Laura is her fair hair, green eyes, and date of death.[7] Marino and his contemporaries replace the idealised Laura with flesh and blood: they write about hair, eyes, hands, bosom, feet, mouth, teeth, moles, even pock-marks and lameness; and they describe women engaged in everyday activity, such as cuddling lap-dogs, feeding children, or sewing.[8] These features in their turn may become stylised and troped: Fiamma's *Gareggiamento poetico* anthology is actually organised according to the physical feature dwelt on in each poem: fair hair, dark hair, bright eyes, teeth etc. Images of seas, rivers, winds and birds still occur, but composers tend to indulge in word-painting only when it fits with their musical design and does not greatly distort the natural flow of the text.

The sixteenth-century bawdy madrigal has vague references to having one's way, or obscene metaphors such as the ship entering harbour, but the seventeenth-century poets describe intimacy in terms of concrete detail; huge numbers of kisses, and everything from coyly touching feet under the table to love-bites with sadomasochistic implications. Marino took up

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6. Correnti 1976, 133: "the great omelette in the sky's frying-pan".
7. cf. Pozzi 1976, 1979.
8. Besomi 1969, 61-74.

Tasso's kiss motif with enthusiasm, while Guarini's pastoral poetry, in which nymphs and shepherds enjoy frequent living deaths, spawned many less subtle imitations. There is also an increasingly bizarre streak to be found in certain poets and composers; Giovanni Ferrari, for example, selected half a dozen variations by different poets on the subject of biting for his madrigal-book of 1628.[9] The flexibility of the musical madrigal made it a highly appropriate form of expression for erotic material; the words could not be so fully savoured in a strophic setting. The more overtly erotic texts are found mainly in settings for more than one voice, perhaps in order to exploit a wider range of musical possibilities. Most poetic collections and many madrigal-books also include texts with sacred or devotional themes, whether for the sake of contrast or as atonement for their worldly excesses: these poems are generally almost identical in style and imagery to the secular texts.

While composers appear increasingly concerned with declamation, the poets concentrate on developing the sonority and musicality of the text itself. In his *Dicerie sacre*, Marino states that the speech of eloquent men is itself music: "Le dicerie degli uomini eloquenti altra cosa non sono che canti musicali, il cui concento non solo molce l'orecchio, ma gli spiriti eziandio diletta e dilettando rapisce...".[10] Crescimbeni, attacking Marino at the end of the century, also refers to Marino's "resonant" writing: "Al Marini adunque si debba la libertà di comporre...nè altra legge volle sofferire, che quella del proprio capriccio, tutta consistente in risonanza

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9. NV938: see 1: 153.
10. quoted by Elwert 1950, 469: "the sayings of eloquent men are nothing other than musical songs, whose harmony not only caresses the ear, but also delights the spirits and in delighting enraptures".

di versi, in accozzamento di bizzarrie, ed arguzie, in concepimento d'argomenti fantastici...".[11] A more recent critic comments that "his typical subjects, his keen sense of sonority and sound pattern, his *versi molli* manner, all show him to be a true reflector of the dominance of music in his time and in his own tastes".[12]

Some idea of how this musicality or sonority can be achieved may be gained through the comments of Emanuele Tesauro in his *Canocchiale Aristotelico* (1670): although this post-dates our period, he describes practices that can be found in many works by Marino and his contemporaries. According to Tesauro, sonority derives "dalla Beltà delle Squillanti Vocali: dalla Nettezza delle Consonanti: & dalla Grandezza delle Parole". He describes the vowels A, E and O as "le Vocali Squillanti, & perfette", whereas U is not too bad if open, but dark and mournful if closed, and I is "di tutte [vocali] la più acuto & esile". At this point he relates his classification directly to singing:

> Laonde gli buon Maestri di Coro, avvisano di non minuire ò gorgheggiare insù queste ultime Vocali U & I: accioche, imitando quella un fosco ululato, & questa un acuto nitrito; il Cantor non paia divenuto repente un Gufo, od un Ronzino.[13]

He adds that these qualities of sonority apply chiefly to the vowel bearing the tonic accent:

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11. Crescimbeni 1731, 2: 470: "To Marino therefore one may owe freedom in composition...nor did he wish to suffer any law other than his own caprice, all consisting in resonant lines, in jumbling caprices and witticisms, in imagining fantastic subjects...".
12. Mirollo 1963, 199.
13. Tesauro 1670, 162-63: "...from the Beauty of the Ringing Vowels: from the Cleanness of the Consonants: and from the Greatness of the Words....(A, E, O) the Ringing, and perfect Vowels...(I) of all the vowels the sharpest and thinnest: wherefore good choir-masters advise one not to do divisions or passage-work on these last vowels U and I: so that, as the former imitates a dark howling, and the latter a high whinny; the singer does not appear suddenly to have turned into an owl, or a pack-horse".

> ...quantunque un Vocabolo havesse tutte, ò presso che tutte le altre Sillabe difettose per la U, ò per la I: purche la Vocale Conspicua sia Squillante & Sonora; ne rimangono le orecchie sommamente appagate.[14]

He does not, moreover, completely exclude I and U, on the grounds that "la varietà è una grande harmonia":[15] he is especially fond of words or lines which contain all the vowels in alphabetical or reversed alphabetical order ("sAlEbrIcOsUs") or in order of sonority ("vItUpErAtOr"), or with all vowels in turn bearing the accent.[16] He also classifies the consonants, finding F "insoave" and dismissing Q as joining "una dura Consonante ad una brutta Vocale".[17]

There is also a small amount of discussion of the qualities of poetry within music-theoretical works. Kircher devotes a substantial section of the *Musurgia universalis* to "Musurgia rhythmica sive poetica", which deals with the relationship between textual and musical accent:[18] a shorter section about music and rhetoric effectively deals only with word-painting and fails to establish how rhetorical figures from speech can be transmuted into music.[19] Angelini Bontempi, although he writes later (1695), deals more directly with issues of Italian poetics, such as scansion. He refers in particular to the need for sung texts to remain simple: classical names, for example, "non sono molto a proposito per la Musica Harmonica; poiche non tutti quei, che gli ascoltano quando si

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14. ibid., 165: "although a word may have all, or almost all the other syllables made defective through U, or I: provided that the conspicuous vowel is bright and resonant; the ears remain completely satisfied by it".
15. ibid., 164: "variety is a great harmony".
16. ibid., 165-66: one (approximate) example is Marino's "Udit'ho Citherea che dal tuo grembo fuore", set by Domenico Mazzocchi, NV1777.
17. ibid., 168: "unsweet"; 171: joining "a hard consonant to an ugly vowel".
18. Kircher 1650, tom. 2: 27-41 & ff. - unfortunately nearly all of this section relates to Latin texts, and it is difficult to derive anything useful from it regarding modern languages.
19. ibid., 2: 141-145.

cantano sanno che Thesisone sia una delle tre Furie...".[20] He also mentions the usage by Guarini and Marino of the figure *cacosaton* (e.g. "la superBA BAbel") and its rejection by musicians: "potrebbe essere ancora che nemmeno la loro autorità fosse bastevole a persuadere i Musici a metterla sotto la misura delle Note".[21] This distinction between what is written and what composers will set is borne out in the madrigal, where, although dense syntax and fantastic images occur, there is a strong emphasis on clarity of poetic expression.

Some of the changing poetic ideals which contributed to the development of the seventeenth-century madrigal may be demonstrated through reference to a "family" of related texts. Table 3, p. 85-87, gives texts and translations for this "family", descended from Petrarch's "Ite caldi sospiri": Table 2, p. 84, lists the settings of them between 1590 and 1640. The most important texts from the point of view of this discussion are the Petrarch (I) and the two descendants which stimulated a variety of settings, the Guarini and Mamiano madrigals (III and VIII). As there are more than twenty years between the Guarini and Mamiano texts, they illustrate a number of aspects of changing taste in the early seventeenth century.[22] The following discussion compares the various texts according to the ways in which seventeenth-century composers found them suited to their needs: pointing out the problems a composer might encounter in setting Petrarch is not intended to denigrate Petrarch as a poet.

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20. Angelini Bontempi 1695, 24: classical names "are not very appropriate for Harmonic Music; for not all those who listen when one sings know that Thesisone is one of the three Furies..."
21. ibid., 24: "it may be that not even their authority was sufficient to persuade composers to put it under the measure of the Notes".
22. Count G.B. Mamiano's *Rime* were published in Venice in 1620 and reprinted in Milan in 1621: from the dedication it appears that the poems were published without his knowledge, possibly posthumously - personal communication from Antonio Vassalli.

TABLE 2

Settings of "Ite caldi sospiri..." and related texts, 1590-1640. The Roman numerals identify the texts given in Table 3, p. 85-7.
Settings by composers given in capitals are included in Appendix E.

Giaches de Wert	II	10 a 5	5vv	Venice 1591
Luca Marenzio	III	8 a 5	5vv	Venice 1598
Costanzo Porta	I	1 a 5	5vv	Venice 1599
Guglielmo Arnoni	III	1 a 6	6vv	Venice 1600
G.B. Caletti	III	1 a 5	5vv	Venice 1604
Hans Nielsen	III"	1 a 5	5vv	Venice 1606
Santo Pietro del Negro	IV	*Gl'amorosi pensieri* 2	3vv	Venice 1607
PAOLO QUAGLIATI	III	*Carro della fedeltà*	1vbc	Rome 1611
Carlo Gesualdo	V	5 a 5	5vv	Gesualdo 1611
Antonio Taroni	III	2 a 5	5vv	Venice 1612
Benedetto Magni	III	op.3 a 5	5vv	Venice 1613
ANTONIO CIFRA	III	4 scherzi	1vbc	Rome 1615
Alessandro Capece	III	1 a 4-8	5vv	Rome 1616
Carlo Gesualdo in Francesco Lambardi	VI	3 c'ette	3vv	Naples 1616
Richard Dering	VII	C'ette a 4	4vv	Antwerp 1620
SCIPIONE LACORCIA	III	3 a 5	5vv	Naples 1620
CLAUDIO SARACINI	III	2 musiche	1vbc	Venice 1620
CESARE ZOILO	I	1 a 5	5vvbc	Venice 1620
BIZZARRO ACCADEMICO CAPRICCIOSO	VIII	*Trastulli estivi* 2	2vvbc	Venice 1621
Alfonso Montesano	I	1 a 5	5vv	Naples 1622
Tomaso Pecci	VII	C'ette a 3	3vv	Antwerp 1624
BIAGIO MARINI	VIII	5 a 1-4	3vvbc	Venice 1625
G.B. CRIVELLI	VIII	1 a 2-4	4vvbc	Venice 1626
GALEAZZO SABBATINI	VIII	2 a 2-4	3vvbc	Venice 1626
MARTINO PESENTI	VIII	3 a 2-5	5vvbc	Venice 1628
IGNAZIO DONATI	VIII	*Fanfalughe* a 2-5	2vvbc	Venice 1630
Giacomo Arrigoni	IX	Concerti	3vvbc	Venice 1635
ALESSANDRO DELLA CIAIA	X	1 a 5	5vvbc	Venice 1636
PIER ANDREA ZIANI	III	1 a 2-4	3vvbc	Venice 1640

TABLE 3: "Ite" family texts.

I. PETRARCH, *Rime*, CLIII (trans. Durling)

Ite, caldi sospiri, al freddo core,
rompete il ghiaccio che pietà contende,
e se prego mortal al ciel s'intende,
morte, o mercè sia fin al mio dolore.

Ite, dolci pensier, parlando fore
di quello ove'l bel guardo non
s'estende:
se pur sua asprezza o mia stella
n'offende,
sarem fuor di speranza e fuor
d'errore.

Dir se pò ben per voi, non forse
a pieno
che'l nostro stato è inquieto e fosco,
sì come'l suo pacifico e sereno.
Gite securi omai, ch'Amor ven vosco,
e ria fortuna pò ben venir meno
s'ai segni del mio sol l'aere conosco.

Go, hot sighs, to her cold heart,
break the ice that fights against
pity, and if mortal prayer reaches
heaven, let death or mercy end my
sorrow.
Go forth, sweet thoughts, speaking
of what her sweet gaze cannot
reach: if her cruelty or my star
still strikes against us, we shall
be out of
hope and out of error.

You can well say, not perhaps
fully, that our state is as
unquiet and dark
as hers is peaceful and bright.
Go confident now, for Love comes
with you, and cruel fortune may
well end, if I know the weather by
the signs of my sun.

II. ANON: set by Wert, 1591

Ite ardenti sospiri
nati del duol che mi consuma e
strugge
seguite che mi fugge
e prend'in gioco i miei gravi martiri.
combattete quel core
fin che rompa il suo ghiaccio il
vostr'ardore.

Go, burning sighs,
born of the pain that consumes
and destroys me,
follow, for she flees me,
and laughs at my heavy torments.
Fight that heart
until your warmth breaks its ice.

III. GUARINI, *Rime* 1598, 79r.

Ite, amari sospiri,
alla bella cagion del morir mio
e dite: O troppo di pietad'ignuda,
s'havete pur desio
di lungamente conservarvi cruda,
allentate il rigore,
che quel meschin si more,
e darà tosto fin col suo morire
alla durezza vostra, al suo languire.

Go, bitter sighs,
to the fair reason for my death
and say: O too pitiless one,
if you still wish
to maintain your cruelty for long,
lessen your sternness,
for that wretch is dying, and
his death will soon put an end
to your hardness, to his
languishing.

IV. ANON: set Santo Pietro del Negro, 1607

Ite caldi sospiri al freddo core,
rompete il ghiacci'e l'indurato petto
di quella che mi tien ferito e stretto.

Ite dolci pensier, lagrim'amare,
al duro scoglio di quella crudele,
che non cura ascoltar le mie querele.

Narrate a lei l'acerbo mio cordoglio,
e fate fede del mio gran martire,
e che se non m'aita io vo' morire.

Gite sicuri homai, ch'Amor vi è guida,
che sò, che per mercè del vostro
ardore
trovarete pietà dentro al suo core.

Go, hot sighs, to her cold heart,
break the ice and the hardened
breast of the one who keeps me
wounded and bound.
Go sweet thoughts, bitter tears,
to the hard rock of that cruel one
who does not care to listen to my
woes.
Tell her of my bitter grief,
and bear witness to my great
torment, and that I will die if
she does not help me.
Go safely now, for Love guides
you, and I know that thanks to
your warmth, you will find pity
inside her heart.

V. ANON: set by Gesualdo, 1611

Itene o miei sospiri
precipitate'l volo
a lei che m'è cagion d'aspri martiri,
ditele, per pietà, del mio gran duolo,

c'ormai ella mi sia
come bella ancor pia
che l'amaro mio pianto
cangerò lieto in amoroso canto.

Go, o my sighs,
hasten your flight
to her who is cause of my bitter
torment: tell her, for pity's sake,
of my great torment,
so that now she may be to me
as merciful as she is beautiful,
For I will happily change my
bitter tears into a loving song.

VI. ANON: set Gesualdo in Lambardi, 1616: "a 3 soprani. Del Sig. Prencipe di Venosa"

Ite sospiri ardenti
ite voland'al ciel, ite co' venti,
e se vien Filli a l'aur'al sen le spiri
l'aura di miei sospiri.

Che s'ivi al vostro ardore
scioglie quel ghiaccio ond'ella hà
duro il core,
ben sarà lieta l'alma, aure vitali,
chi vi da spirto, & ali.

Ma pria sarà finita
a voi lasso la fiamma, a me la vita
ch'entr'il giel di quel petto il
vostro foco
l'haver mai possa loco.

Pur la pietade in seno
l'entrerà fors'in vostra vece almeno
ma git'à condur lei mesti e dolenti
voi, voi sospir' ardenti.

Go, burning sighs, go flying to
heaven, go with the winds, and if
Filli comes, breathe to the
breeze at her bosom the breath of
my sighs.
For if there, at your warmth, the
ice dissolves with which her heart
is hardened, that soul will surely
be happy, vital sighs, which gives
you breath, and wings.

But, alas, your flame and my life
will be ended before your fire
could possibly take hold within
the ice of that bosom.

Yet perhaps Pity, at least, will
enter her breast instead of you:
but go, sad and sorrowful, to lead
her there, you burning sighs.

VII. ANON: 1st strophe set Dering 1620, both set Pecci 1624

Ite amari sospiri
alla bella cagion del morir mio
e dite: ah, troppo di pietade ignuda
rallentate il desio
di lungamente conservarvi cruda.

E voi, rivi di pianto,
correte al duro scoglio, e l'onde
vostre
portin de la mia vita il legno:
onde esso
(se pur quel non si spetra)
col percotere in lui, rompa se stesso.

Go, bitter sighs,
to the fair reason for my death,
and say: "Ah, too pitiless one,
lessen your wish
to maintain your cruelty so long.

And you, rivers of tears,
run to that hard rock, and may
your waves
carry the barque of my life;
so that it (if indeed that rock
does not soften) can wreck itself
striking against it.

VIII. G.B. MAMIANO, *Rime* 1620, 35

Vanne mesto sospir, nuntio d'amore,
a la fera cagion del mio dolore,
e dille in bassa voce:
si strugge quel meschin a poco a poco
qual molle cera al foco. himself little
ma se ritrosa poi nega mercede,
grida ch'al mondo non si trova fede.

Go mournful sigh, ambassador of
love, to the proud cause of my
sorrow, and tell her in a low
voice: that wretch consumes
by little, like soft
wax at a fire. But if then she
haughtily denies me mercy, shout
out that there is no faith left in
the world.

IX. ANON, set Arrigoni, 1635

Ite, sospiri miei, pronte e volate
mentre a seguirvi il cor quinci si
svelle,
e queste not'al mio bel Sol portate
che rigò col mio sangue il braccio
imbelle.
Belle carte d'amor, ch'errando andate
schiffando per lo mar nembi e procelle
se mai giunte saret'ov'aspirate
siati del morir mio mute favelle.

Dite a colei ch'io moro, e l'alma mia
hor che dal petto mio si parte errante
com'à suo Paradiso à lei s'invia:

colà il divin'angelico sembiante
farà che lieto e fortunato io sia
e viva in lei dopo la morte amante.

Go, my sighs, go quickly and fly
while my heart here prepares to
follow you, and carry these notes
to my fair sun, which my
powerless arm has drawn with my
blood. Fair letters of love, which
go wandering, avoiding on the seas
rain-clouds and storms, if you
ever arrive where you aim to, be
mute narrators of my death.
Tell her that I am dying, and my
soul, now that it leaves my breast
to wander, directs itself to her
as to its paradise: there her
divine angelic countenance will
make me be happy and fortunate,
so that I may live, a lover, within
her after my death.

X. ANON: set della Ciaia 1636

Ite dispersi à venti
o scarcerati indarno
dal profondo del cor sospiri ardenti:
ch'in bellezze fiorite
non havrete ricetto aure svanite,
poiche langue e si perde
di sfiorita speranza il fragil verde.

Go, scattered to the winds, o
burning sighs, vainly released
from the depths of my heart:
for where beauty flowers you,
feeble gusts, will not be received,
because the fragile green of
faded hope languishes and is lost.

The relationships among these texts extend well beyond the similarity of their opening lines. For example, while Mamiano's text is so closely based upon Guarini's that it could be termed a paraphrase, Mamiano and Guarini each select different elements from the Petrarch sonnet, and each leads the initial idea in a different direction.

Mamiano's text (VIII) is shorter than Guarini's (III) and less than half the length of Petrarch's (I). The syntax and imagery are correspondingly more compact: whereas Petrarch addresses three instructions ("ite", "ite", "gite") to two objects (his sighs and his thoughts), Guarini and Mamiano address themselves only once ("ite", "vanne") to their object (their sigh/s). They also both quote the sighs' speech directly ("O troppo...", "Si strugge...") rather than confining themselves to Petrarch's more abstract reflection. The change of speaker or tone within the text will later become the classic means of creating a recitative/aria division, but this is not yet exploited. There is also an increasing level of personification: Petrarch's sighs perform a function but cannot speak, while his thoughts also remain part of him (hence his use of the first person plural as the poem continues); Guarini's sighs speak, but do not have their own character; while Mamiano instantly personifies his (single) sigh as "Love's ambassador".

Petrarch's poem is a literary contemplation rather than a lyric: in dividing his message between sighs and thoughts it loses its momentum. Although Nadal set the whole sonnet in 1549, later composers tend to set the first quatrain or the octave at most. His striking initial metaphor of the hot sighs breaking the ice around the cold heart can be traced in Guarini's references to his love's hardness (durezza, rigore) and Mamiano's lover, who melts like wax by the fire. (I find Petrarch's use of breaking,

rather than melting, ice, curious: the Lambardi canzonetta (VI) uses the more logical "sciogliere" - to melt or dissolve.)

Petrarch's poem, with its juxtapositions of opposites ("caldi" - "freddo"/ "ghiaccio"; "inquieto"/ "fosco" - "pacifico"/ "sereno") takes on a literary character of a type increasingly alien to seventeenth-century taste, especially in northern and central Italy (the only settings of this sonnet in the seventeenth century come from the south). Tassoni, commenting on Petrarch's first sonnet, "Voi ch'ascoltate", in 1609, flatly denies that the rather convoluted line "quand'era in parte altr'huom da quel ch'i sono" can be viewed as poetry at all.[23] Tesauro, although his poetic ideals are obviously greatly at variance with those of Petrarch, translates "Pace non trovo" into Latin in his *Canocchiale*: Raimondi notes that the translation intensifies all the verbs, builds up internal references, and absorbs Petrarch's paradoxes into the words themselves, as in the line "veggio senz'occhi, e non ho lingua e grido" which he translates as "eloquor elinguis; lumen sine lumina *[sic]* cerno".[24]

Guarini's paradox is in the general message of the poem - his beloved must be kind now if she wants to continue to be cruel - while Mamiano's message is quite unparadoxical: he simply briefs his ambassadorial sigh with alternative plans of action according to the response it receives. Guarini and Mamiano take up different key words from Petrarch's fourth line: Guarini stresses "morte" and "fine", Mamiano "dolore" and "mercede".

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23. Tassoni 1609, 2: "when I was in part a different man from the one I now am".
24. Raimondi 1961, 85-88: "I see without eyes, and have no tongue and shout"; Tesauro's version is closer to "I give tongue tongueless: I discern light without lights".

One of the most striking points of divergence in these poems is their sound. Petrarch uses a considerable amount of immediate alliteration and assonance: this is sometimes effective, as in his use of M in lines 3-4 and the combination of V and "en" sounds in lines 12-13: sometimes, as in the three Ls in line three, it is probably accidental. By the seventeenth century, such alliteration had fallen somewhat from favour: Tassoni's objections to "Voi ch'ascoltate" include the "cattivo suono" of "di me medesmo meco mi vergogno".[25] Mamiano uses very little alliteration or assonance, never extending beyond two words, while Guarini places greatest emphasis on his rhymed words, sometimes using alliteration or assonance within the line to lead to and reinforce them.

Given Tesauro's lengthy comments (above) about the different qualities of vowel sounds, the differences between the poems from this point of view are especially striking. Guarini uses a large number of stressed Is: if the rhyming syllable in a line is not an I he may emphasise other Is within the line ("il rigore", "meschin si more"). He also uses stressed As and Us freely within the poem, avoiding the E and O sounds most favoured by Tesauro. Petrarch begins each section of the sonnet with a stressed I, but uses E and O sounds for all his line endings. He uses some stressed As in the first quatrain and two carefully-placed Us in the last tercet ("securi", "fortuna"), but his general approach to sound does not seem to include a systematic consideration of timbre.

By contrast, Mamiano takes care to use E and O unless he wishes to obtain a particular effect or emphasis. He reserves I for "sospir", "mio", "dille", "meschin" and "grida": U for "nuntio" and "strugge": and A for "vanne" and "bassa". The emphasis on E and O, which includes all the

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25. Tassoni 1609, 2: the "bad sound" of "I am ashamed of me myself".

rhymes, results in a sombre background. He avoids chimes between pairs of words, preferring instead the vowel-alternating devices described by Tesauro: he uses all five vowels in his first line - not quite in alphabetical order - and also manages to use A, E, I and O before "strUgge". Tesauro also mentions ordering vowels by "sonority" - I, U, E, A, O as in "arma vIrUmquE cAnO" - and this type of order may perhaps be traced in Mamiano's fourth line. Mamiano also tries to avoid unvoiced consonants. His Ss are grouped affectively: he uses no Z or TS sounds: and he avoids T (e.g. by replacing "ite" with "vanne" and "dite" with "dille"). This sort of care is not apparent in the Guarini, while the Petrarch is laden with comparatively harsh sounds.

In addition, Mamiano builds an intrinsic contrast of dynamics and pitch into the madrigal, specifying that his plea is to be uttered "in bassa voce" (which Sabbatini interprets quite literally by setting the words for bass voice), but that if it goes unheeded his sigh is to shout ("grida ch'al mondo...").

Of the other texts in the family, Wert's anonymous lyric retains the most striking image from the Petrarch, using it as a framework, but it is otherwise somewhat incoherent, as the introduction of a battle motif ("combattete quel core") sits oddly within the central metaphor. Gesualdo's text (V) tends to smooth out the Guarini: while the first four lines intensify the image of the sighs, the poet refuses to go into direct speech and the verse, as it becomes further removed from its original, finishes lamely. The other madrigal in the family, set by della Ciaia (X), is vastly more successful. Its structure, where each verb's subject ("sospiri", "aure", "verde") goes to the end of the phrase, gives it an impetus which is not dissipated in periphrases. The language is also

larger than life: note the frequent use of words beginning with an intensifying or negating S - "scarcerati" (un-imprisoned), "svanite" (vanished, faded, feeble), "sfiorita" (literally, un-flowered; faded). Momentum is not lost in description, but each noun, itself as forceful as possible, is qualified by a single equally forceful adjective. These are very much qualities of Marinist poetry at its most compact.

The sonnet set by Arrigoni (IX) combines the "go, sighs" image with many characteristics of the *lettera amorosa*. The fixed form of the text allows Arrigoni to set two lines as extended arias without losing the thread of the discourse. The alternating rhyme scheme (ABAB... instead of the usual ABBA...) is so rare that it raises the possibility that a mysterious text in ABABABAB form set by M.A. Rossi could be the octave of a sonnet by the same poet.[26]

The *napolitana* and canzonetta texts (numbers IV, VI and VII) do not strictly fall within the present terms of reference, but they present very interesting adaptations of the Petrarch and Guarini texts respectively. The *napolitana* (IV) sorts out Petrarch's convolutions into a simple and straightforward text, elevated in tone but not atypical of its repertoire. It also tentatively introduces the rock motif ("duro scoglio") which is taken up and developed in VII into a full-blooded marine *topos* which again has southern Italian connotations. VI, which may have been either written or set by Gesualdo, reflects elements of both IV and V within a quite original structure: its emphasis in the first two strophes on "l'aura" may be a veiled homage to the Petrarch sonnet. All three serve to demonstrate the close poetic, as well as musical, relationships among

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26. see the discussion of "Mentre d'ampia voragine", 1: 129-30.

the various genres of Italian secular music: a fact we ignore at our peril.

Having looked at this family of texts from the point of view of poetic criteria, it may be as well to look at the ways in which these texts were set. The frequent concentration musicologists have applied to differences in the type of setting employed in the madrigal have sometimes obscured the common features. For example, the text-book generalisation is that the solo madrigal is very free in its style, using irregular rhythms and feminine endings, while the madrigal for several voices uses more regular note-values in declamation and is more emphatic and "masculine" at cadences. Although this is true of many works in each category, by the 1620s the full range of soloistic declamatory devices had been taken into many madrigals for more than one voice, while some writers of "monody" retained a largely sixteenth-century approach to the text.

Although Italian versification has always been based on accentual, not quantitative, metre, composers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries tended to adopt quantitative rhythms, derived from their practice in setting ecclesiastical Latin, for setting Italian verse - in other words, using long notes for accented and shorter notes for unaccented syllables.[27] During the early seventeenth century another, "accentual" method of text-setting, where accented syllables are placed on the beat and unaccented syllables between main beats, appears to have evolved alongside this "quantitative" method. From the last years of the sixteenth century two new aspects of musical phrasing appear, which

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27. Harrán 1973N, 45, 49-51 discusses Zarlino's and Gaffurius' respective rules regarding the quantitative setting of Latin: "[Zarlino's] Rule 1 begins thus: 'One must always place a suitable note under a long or short syllable, in order that no barbarism be heard', in other words, long notes for long (=accented) syllables, short for short (=unaccented) syllables" (45). In 1973V, 624, he notes that Vicentino extends this principle to the accentuation of any language. DeFord, 1981, relates the development of accentual principles to the increasing use of the *fusa* in the late sixteenth century: "the use of consecutive texted *fusae* is...closely associated with the transition from the quantitative mensural system characteristic of the Renaissance to the system of meter based on regularly recurring accents, which became increasingly common in the early baroque and eventually displaced the older mensural system altogether" (43-44). The only contemporary discussion I have found of these issues - not, alas, very helpful - is that by Kircher mentioned above, p. 82.

reflect a closer observance of both quantity and accent. Closer attention to quantity at cadences is shown in setting final (short) syllables to shorter note-values: Quagliati, Lacorcia and Ziani all tend to hurry away from the short syllable after a cadence, even though it may still fall on a "strong" beat (the beginning of a semibreve tactus). Observance of the accentuation of the text becomes apparent in efforts to keep a weak syllable off the tactus. This may be done through the use of a pair of short notes, but that solution may prove unsuitable for an important cadence. It may also be accomplished through placing the weak syllable on a note, off the beat, which is then tied or slurred onto the beat (which results in a long note for a short syllable, but respects the accentuation of the text); this slur is a cliché in the solo madrigal and finds its way into most other contemporary vocal music. All of these ideas are taken up in madrigals for several voices, while Quagliati and Cifra, in their solo madrigals, frequently approach cadences in a sixteenth-century manner.[28]

The seventeenth-century madrigal is also perhaps more observant than that of the late sixteenth century of the form of its poetic text. It was customary to set off questions, appositions and direct speech by rests or changes of texture or register; this is apparent in some settings between "e dite" or "e dille in bassa voce" and the indirect speech which follows. However, it is noticeable that most composers in fact pay more attention to the purely "formal" line ending which comes immediately before "e dite".

The formal freedom of the madrigal enabled the development of a close illustrative relationship between music and text, often referred to as "word-painting". Although it is a traditional attribute of the sixteenth-century madrigal, it lived on in the seventeenth century. "Word-painting" may take the form of a direct pictorial response to an image in the text, or a reflection of its broader emotional content; it can combine elements of melody, harmony and rhythm in anything from onomatapoeia to visual-

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28. Triple metre has its own cadential conventions.

intellectual entertainment for the performer.[29]

The "affective" use of large or chromatically altered intervals, much emphasised in the solo madrigal, had begun in the extravagant word-painting of Rore and Wert and continued in Monteverdi's five-voice madrigals. The Quagliati and Ziani settings are perhaps too florid for most of the more unusual intervals to be noticeable. The chromatic rising figure adopted by Cifra for his opening appears in reverse in Saracini's setting, to form apt word-painting for "allentate" (slacken). Sabbatini uses a diminished fourth throughout for "mesto", and makes much of rising semitones in the bass on "meschin". Seventeenth-century madrigalists still automatically set "high" words to high notes and "low" words to low ones: in this group of settings, the verb "morire" is always set to falling melodic figures, and frequently to low notes. The only descents to low D or C in the Cifra setting are on the words "quel meschin si more".

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29. Termini 1978, 6-11, classifies madrigalian word-painting in terms of the following conventions: rhythmic representation of movement or action; *note nere* to express happiness; *note bianche* to express grief or calm; melodic direction upwards or downwards to express actual direction; musical imitation of natural and man-made sounds; chromatic inflection to express pathos; visual or intellectual madrigalisms (e.g. solmisation); *note nere* and *note bianche* juxtaposed; exclamatory motives; pauses to set off questions, appositions, or direct speech; affective intervals or melody; dissonant harmony to express harshness or strife; and harmonic description through colour and modulation.
Deliberate use of *note nere* is reserved for triple metre (especially the hemiola) from the later sixteenth century, when black notes in common time are no longer a novelty. In triple-metre sections the composer had a range of notational options, each of which presented a different appearance, and it is possible that composers may sometimes have based their choices on wordpainting considerations. Black notes were frequently used in the sixteenth century for death, especially the amorous kind, while triple-metre sections, usually in white notation, were often associated with ideas of singing and dancing.
The latter practice becomes so common in the seventeenth century that its origin is soon forgotten and long settings include triple-time sections as a matter of course: see the discussion of "aria" in chapter 1 above.

Harmonic word-painting declines in relative importance during the seventeenth century, following a trend away from fraught dissonance. In solo madrigals, oddities in the rhythm are often used to bring out dissonances created through suspension, anticipation and ornamentation, since there is no sustained accompaniment. Cifra, Ziani and Lacorcia all use strings of suspensions on the line "alla durezza vostra, al suo languire"; otherwise, affect is generally produced through other means. None of these composers sets the word "amari" to a real dissonance: Cifra uses a combination of affective intervals and rhythm; Ziani sets it as a sixth above the bass; and Lacorcia employs a B-major triad. By 1620 the shift towards tonality makes the use of extreme colouristic harmonies both rarer and more effective, as the colours used by earlier composers are gathered into the logical harmonic scheme. Ziani, whose setting is extremely consonant, extends the flat side of his harmonic vocabulary to produce something close to modern C minor.

Direct representation through rhythmic movement of the verb "go", at the opening of all these poems, is restrained by the verb's formal function as part of an exordium: composers generally prefer to reflect the idea of distance through melodic interval or harmony, although Sabbatini employs a walking figure with turns. The words "allentate", "morire", "languire", "durezza" and "rigore", all of which suggest either slowness or reluctance, are frequently set to exaggeratedly long note-values, at least on the stressed syllable. There is also a tendency to use white notes for the other emotive words such as "cruda" and "meschin".

The only word in these texts to lend itself to onomatapoeic treatment, "sospiri", also comes in the exordium rather than the main body of the text, restraining the composers from great elaboration. Lacorcia and

Sabbatini use the traditional short rest, but place it before rather than within the word. Cifra uses a falling third, while Ziani puts a lavish melisma which does not really reflect the sighing notion. On a much more general level, one might perhaps attribute some of the sobbing ornamentation to the grief or pain implicit in the text - although such ornamentation also occurs in happier contexts.

Visual or intellectual mannerisms such as eye-music or solmisation are seldom apparent in settings of ordinary madrigal texts in the seventeenth century, although there are rare instances of pieces designed for this purpose.[30] Quagliati and Saracini may deliberately have placed the syllable "mi" of "mio" on a B natural; Saracini also sets "durezza" (hardness or "sharpness") to a sharpened note. Sabbatini's treatment of "e dille in bassa voce" (and tell her in a low - or bass - voice) as a musical pun has already been noted above.

Do such features distinguish the madrigal from other genres? Certainly from strophic forms, where such a detailed, if not necessarily illustrative, relationship between text and music cannot be sustained. With other through-composed forms, or strophic variations, the situation is much less clear, since they can employ many madrigalian devices.

It is apparent that the number of voices involved in a madrigal does not automatically have a greater influence than other aspects of style on the nature of the word-setting. The Roman solo madrigals looked at here are not unlike their Florentine predecessors in preserving many features of sixteenth-century madrigalian declamation and word-painting. Solo

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30. e.g. "Vorrei di semituoni, di fà finti spostati à la bizarra", in Francesco Eredi's book of 1629 (NV890); see 1: 171.

madrigals are, however, usually more direct in their expression than those for more voices; the absence of other voices gives them a freedom close to that of recitative, especially when the bass-line is entirely in long note-values. Since there is less opportunity to develop material through contrapuntal combinations and changes in texture and register, there is less repetition of text and the pieces tend to be shorter. It was precisely these musical limitations which led to the rapid exhaustion of the solo madrigal, which virtually disappeared by 1625.[31] Its more advantageous features were absorbed by the *concertato* madrigal for two or more voices, which allowed for greater variety.

While the *concertato* madrigal thus absorbs many features of the solo madrigal, and frequently includes solo sections, it is arguable that in seeking the best of both worlds in declamation and sonority it develops a relationship with the text just as stylised in its own way as that prevailing in the sixteenth century. This is, however, also part of a general shift away from localised word-painting towards independently constructed melody. While the *concertato* principle, which allows any combination of voices to be used as required, enables readier use of dialogue elements (as in the characterisation of poet and sigh in some of the "Ite" family settings), composers appear to employ such devices more for variety than for realism: they do not hesitate to employ several singers to express the feelings of one individual.

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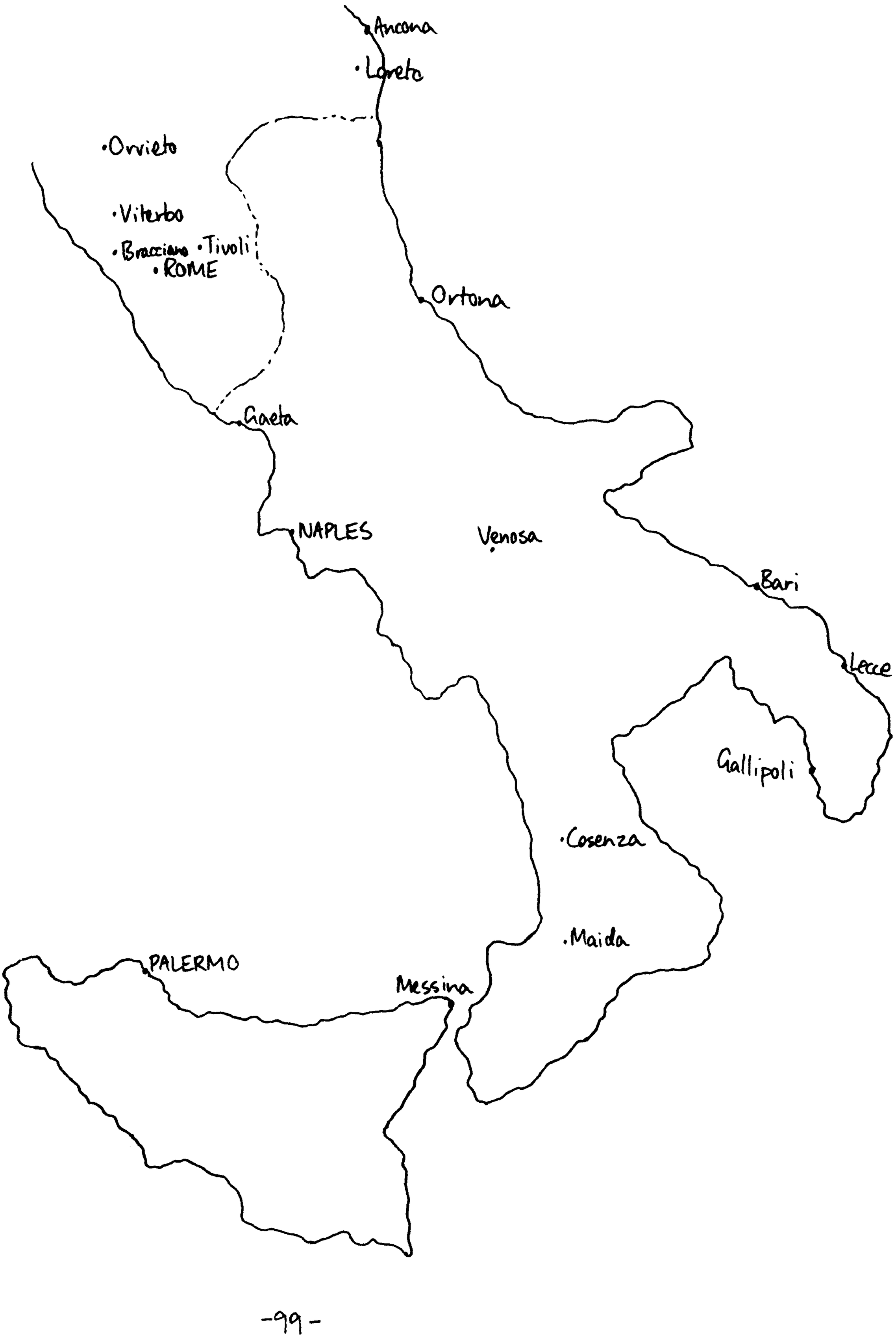
31. Fortune 1954-55, 32.

MAP 3: SOUTHERN ITALY



CHAPTER 5: NAPLES AND SICILY

As outlined in Chapter 2, the states of Naples and Sicily were both governed by Spanish viceroys. Although most of the nobility gravitated towards the capitals of Naples and Palermo, the Spanish origins of the viceroys tended to prevent their courts from becoming a focus for indigenous cultural activity.[1] There was, however, a strong tradition among the Neapolitan nobility of composition and patronage of unaccompanied madrigals. In the provincial towns, musicians attached to the churches seem to have become more interested in the *concertato* madrigal. Table 1, p. 101, summarises surviving publications, lost books and reprints in the region.

The a cappella *tradition.*[2]

It is always difficult to establish details of madrigal performances, as the form is essentially destined for private gatherings. Only two madrigals are known to have been written for public performance in Naples after 1620: they were composed in honour of the Duke of Alba by Tropea and Montesano respectively.[3] Since the viceroys in general frowned upon organised gatherings such as academies, any such activities in Naples tended to be short-lived, although the Inquieti of Maida and the Incogniti of Bari may both have been the scene of local musical activities.[4] There were, however, frequent informal gatherings among the nobility, who vied with each other not only in patronage but in composition; patrician

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1. Larson 1985, 3.
2. This section will draw extensively on Larson, 1985: his material on social background is summarised in Bianconi and Bossa (eds.) 1983, 61-77.
3. Larson 1985, 540.
4. ibid., 70, 74.

Table 1: Madrigal publications 1620-1655

([] indicate lost books, *italic* reprints.)

Lacorcia	3 a 5	1620	Naples	ded. F. Filomarino
Palazzotto	2 a 5	1620	Palermo	ded. S. de Requesens
[De Bellis	2 a 2-4 bc	1621	Naples	recorded Pitoni]
Salzilli	4 a 5	1621	Naples	ded. A. Agnese
Tropea	1 a 5	1621	Naples	ded. F. Filomarino
Montesano	1 a 5	1622	Naples	ded. M.A. Loffredo
Tropea	1 a 4	1622	Naples	ded. F. Filomarino
De Bellis	3 a 5	1623	Naples	ded. Iacopo Vento
Bonaffino	1 a 2-4 bc	1623	Messina	ded. John Watkin
Arcadelt (repr.)	*1 a 4*	*1625*	*Naples*	*ded. F. Paulella*
Gesualdo (posth.)	1 a 6	1626	Naples	ded. Leonora d'Este Gesualdo
Personè	3 a 5	1626	Naples	ded. S. Borghese
Zoilo (repr.)	*1 a 5*	*1627*	*Naples*	*ded. G. Veggiano*
Arcadelt (repr.)	*1 a 4*	*1628*	*Naples*	*ded. G.N. Schiavoni*
[Del Giudice	1? a 2-4 bc	1628	Messina	recorded Mongitore]
Personè	4 a 5	1628	Naples	ded. S. Borghese
Dentice	Spir. a 5	1629	Naples	ded. F. Boncompagni
Arcadelt (repr.)	*1 a 4*	*1632*	*Naples*	*ded. G.G.D. Filippi*
[Palazzotto	3 a 3 bc	1632	Naples	recorded Mongitore]
Mattei	1 a 2-3 bc	1634	Naples	ded. O. Sersale
[Del Giudice	Mot.e madr.	1635	Palermo	recorded Mongitore]
Cremonese	1 a 2-6	1636	Venice	ded. O. Acquaviva
Dentice (posth.)	2 spir.a 5	1640	Naples	ded. F. Boncompagni
Dentice (posth.)	Spir. a 4	1640	Naples	ded. F. Boncompagni
[Rosa	3 a 5	1646	Naples	recorded Pitoni]
Capuana	Sacr. a 3	1647	Venice	ded. B. Deodato
Arcadelt (repr.)	*1 a 4*	*1654*	*Naples*	*for H. Capollaro*[5]

composers of madrigals between 1620 and 1655 include Scipione Dentice, Ettorre della Marra (one madrigal in Lacorcia 1620), Diego Personè of Lecce, Francesco Pasquali of Cosenza (who spent most of his life working outside the kingdom) and possibly G.B. de Bellis of Gaeta.[6] There were many degrees of nobility. Titled composers, as opposed to patricians, were very rare: that is a major reason why Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of

5. Larson and Pompilio give a more detailed chronology in Bianconi & Bossa (eds.) 1983, 103ff.
6. Larson 1985, 58-62.

Venosa, always appears at the head of contemporary lists of composers.[7] A fine pedigree was also no guarantee of wealth: some noblemen earned a living as professional musicians, usually in the guise of courtiers to those with greater wealth and status. Gesualdo set a notable example in employing household musicians, and Francesco Filomarino, who employed Lacorcia and Tropea, may have sought to emulate him in that respect.[8] This deference to Gesualdo also led many local composers to imitate his compositional style, with varying degrees of success.

It was natural that in a society especially interested in rank and etiquette, where the employment of musicians was sometimes subject to sumptuary laws,[9] the madrigal should have followed its own rules of decorum. The choice of texts was almost entirely limited to reflections on unrequited love,[10] avoiding the dramatic, comic, or playfully erotic texts much favoured elsewhere. Emulation rather than innovation continued to be the local fashion, and most of these madrigal-books include at least one piece which is modelled on a predecessor's work. Many of these composers would have known some of the *concertato* madrigals being produced further north, but they probably viewed the introduction of the continuo as a form of cheating which detracted from the madrigal's intellectual status. Because of the delight taken in unusual harmonic progressions and dissonances, these works require intelligent singing; but the conspicuous lack of vocal display reinforces the impression that they were intended to be sung by amateurs rather

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7. a preoccupation with rank is also evident in the dedication of de Bellis' third book a 5 (NV696), which expatiates on the family tree of the dedicatee, Iacomo Vento, while making only the most casual reference to Vento's love of music and employment of the composer.
8. Larson 1985, 542.
9. Larson in Bianconi & Bossa (eds.) 1983, 73.
10. Larson 1985, 149.

than professionals. During the seventeenth century the Neapolitan conservatories produced increasing numbers of musicians from the lower classes of society, and there is a corresponding decrease in the number of noblemen who were actively involved in music. Larson infers from this that the social status of both performers and composers was felt to have declined:[11] whatever the cause, the Neapolitan madrigal faded away as professional musical entertainments took over.

The terms *consonanze stravaganti* and *durezze e ligature* were first applied to de Macque's madrigals, but retain their relevance for Gesualdo's followers.[12a] *Consonanze stravaganti*, which translates as "extravagant" or "wayward" consonances, refers to consonant chords in unusual tonal areas involving rarely-employed accidentals, and therefore does not indicate the use of dissonance. *Durezze e ligature*, "dissonances and ties", refers to the dense accumulation of tied notes within a series of dissonant suspensions. Long note-values are generally employed for both devices, and the two frequently occur together.[12b] While some composers continued to take the use of such devices to extremes, Nenna, Salzilli and Lacorcia all tended to reduce the level of waywardness and dissonance in their later books: perhaps they wished to reach a wider market.[13]

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11. Larson 1985, 68.

12a. ibid., 528.

12b. ibid., 528.

13. ibid., 688, 726: several of Nenna's books were reprinted in Venice. I have not examined the incomplete fourth book a 5 (NV2542) by Crescenzio Salzilli, who was a lutenist at the church of the Annunziata in Naples for most of his recorded career (1607-23). None of his texts may as yet be attributed to a known author, and only five have concordances. Astorgio Agnese, his patron, seems to have been better known for his piety than his love of music: he died childless in 1660, leaving his estate to the Theatines; see Appendix A, 2: 7.

Scipione Lacorcia, whose madrigal "Ite amari sospiri" was referred to in Chapter 4, is described by Larson as Gesualdo's most successful follower.[14] He appears to have spent all his life in Naples, and refers in dedicating his 1620 book (NV1366) to Francesco Filomarino to an "occasione di aprirmi la strada alla servitù di V.S.", which implies that he was hoping to join Tropea in Filomarino's household.[15] Like his contemporaries in Naples, he makes very modest use of semiquavers and triple-time sections, preferring such *consonanze stravaganti* as the B-major triads in "Ite amari". Lacorcia includes a setting of "Ancidetemi pur cruda" which is very closely related to its only concordance, by Palazzotto, published in Palermo in the same year (NV2088).[16]

Giacomo Tropea dedicates both of his books to his employer, Francesco Filomarino. His first book of 1621 (NV2765) is described in his dedication as "le prime fatiche, e i primi abbozzi della mia penna":[17] the second (NV2764, 1622) is for four voices, a medium seldom used in this period. Most of the texts in his five-voice book, while not especially well-known, had already been set in Neapolitan circles: they include three poems by Murtola, who, although a Neapolitan poet, seems to have fallen out of favour with local composers by this date. The texts in the four-voice book include several very popular poems, such as Marino's "Ch'io mora?". Larson describes Tropea's music as "an uncomfortable mixture of modern and conservative styles",[18] involving awkward dissonances and simultaneous cross-relations which serve no apparent expressive purpose.

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14. Larson 1985, 757.
15. "the chance to open the path to your service".
16. Larson 1985, 751: Lacorcia's madrigal carries its own dedication to Antonio Miroballo, a well-known soldier.
17. "the first efforts, and the first sketches from my pen".
18. Larson 1985, 782.

The late works of Scipione Dentice include three volumes of spiritual madrigals: two of them, including one a 4, were published posthumously in 1640.[19] Dentice is the closest of these composers to Gesualdo in chronological terms - most of his secular output dates from before 1600 - and he may have had direct contact with Gesualdo through Fabrizio Gesualdo and through the dedication of his book of 1598 to Gesualdo's second wife, Eleonora d'Este.[20] The madrigals that concern us here were written much later, after his retirement to the Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri. As *madrigali spirituali* they were probably intended for use in the Oratory's evening service or "vespertini",[21] and they function very much as vehicles for the words (spiritual poems by Grillo, Marino, Barco, Policreti and others). They employ a greater amount of homophonic declamation than their secular contemporaries, and even passages in imitation are kept as clear as possible, using short phrases which do not overlap. There is very little dissonance, but some use of *consonanze stravaganti*, especially chord progressions involving chromatic rises in two voices (e.g. G-minor triad to E-major triad) which are also favoured by Bellis and Lacorcia. The lack of dissonance is presumably connected to the generally cheerful mood of the texts, and, indeed, of the Oratory in general.[22] The general tone is far removed from the plaintive love poetry set in secular books.

The rest of this group of composers were in fact working in provincial cities and towns rather than in Naples itself. G.B. de Bellis was *maestro di cappella* at Gaeta cathedral when his third book a 5 was

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19. Martin 1981 gives details of her discovery of the book a 4, summarised in Appendix D, NV813, 2: 50.
20. Martin 1978, 33, 37.
21. Martin 1981, 229 (she transcribes a 1629 piece, 235-9).
22. ibid., 230.

published in 1623 (NV696):[23] his earlier two books had been dedicated to members of the Carafa family while he was living in their service in Naples. We know nothing about the dedicatee of the third book, Iacomo Vento, apart from de Bellis' discussion of his ancestry: the composer's reference to his reception as Vento's "servidore", however, implies that he may have lived within Vento's household. As with the works of Personè, Salzilli and Montesano, an unusually high proportion of his madrigals are unique settings of as yet unidentified poets: there seems to be very little selection of texts from other musical sources, and it may be that these composers were setting mainly verses produced in the households of their patrons.

Only three part-books for Alfonso Montesano's book of 1622 (NV1896) survive. Montesano appears to have been in the service of his feudal lord, Marc'Antonio Loffredo, at Maida: the title-page of the book bears an exquisite representation of the Loffredo arms, and in his preface Montesano describes himself as an unworthy little bird nestling in a great oak. There is even a madrigal to celebrate the birth of a Loffredo heir. Maida had an academy, the Inquieti, to which Montesano may have belonged.[24] His settings are very compact, using many brief points of imitation and little chromaticism.

Diego Personè, "gentilhuomo di Lecce", dedicated his books of 1626 and 1628 (NV2184-5) to Cardinal Scipione Borghese. Nanie Bridgman infers from this that he was living in Naples in the cardinal's household: as the cardinal died in 1633, the fact that Personè was living in Lecce in 1634 would not contradict this.[25] Larson, however, records that Personè

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23. Larson 1985, 633.
24. ibid., 653.
25. Bridgman 1956-57, 98, 101.

had a handsome fortune of his own, and declined offers of posts as courtier to both the Grand Duke of Tuscany and Louis XIII of France - he was sought-after for his talents as swordsman as well as musician.[26] The texts of the 1626 book, all concerned with music, were apparently written by another nobleman living in Lecce, Girolamo Cigala:[27] this reinforces the impression that Personè was based in Lecce rather than Naples. Persone's madrigals incorporate some northern elements into the unaccompanied tradition, such as unusually frequent combinations of different phrases of text and music: some of the more awkward patches, especially in placement of accidentals, are probably due to careless printing.[28a]

One point overlooked by Larson which I find interesting is the scoring of these madrigals. De Bellis and Lacorcia, and perhaps others whose books are now incomplete, frequently use five unequal voices; where there are two voices with the same range, they are usually tenors. This is an interesting contrast to five-voice madrigals from northern Italy, where scorings with two soprano voices had tended to predominate from the late sixteenth century. The use of unequal voices further discourages the duet-type displays of the northern madrigal.[28b]

Larson refutes the idea that Gesualdo's chromaticism may have been associated with changing instrumental temperaments, especially since as a lutenist/guitarist he would himself have played in quasi-equal temperament. As for experiments with enharmonic tunings:

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26. Larson 1985, 659.
27. Bridgman 1956-57, 98.
28a. Larson 1985, 663-665.
28b. It is also interesting to look at the scorings of the Roman madrigalists. Capece (1625) uses two tenors for about half of his pieces, two sopranos for the remainder. Capponi (1640) has only two pieces with a pair of tenors - all the others have two sopranos - while Cenci (1647) uses a variety of scorings including unequal voices.

> Gesualdo heard Luzzaschi play Vicentino's *archicembalo* in Ferrara, praised his playing and may have been stimulated by the instrument or the music played on it to explore chromaticism in his madrigals, but there is little evidence that he wanted an enharmonic instrument of his own...and no evidence that he wrote music in the enharmonic genre.[29]

In Gesualdo's retinue on this journey, however, had been the keyboard player and composer Scipione Stella. *La sambuca lincea*, a detailed description of a new keyboard instrument (a fretted clavichord using a 31-part division of the octave) published in 1618 by the Neapolitan scientist Fabio Colonna, appears to derive from an instrument built by Stella under the archicembalo's influence.[30] There is a sharp contrast between Rome, where the development of the Gesualdo-inspired madrigal was connected with arcane developments in keyboard instruments,[31] and Naples, where there appears to have been remarkably little overlap between keyboard and vocal writing.[32] Even well-known composers of keyboard music such as Stella and Ascanio Mayone do not seem to have drawn on their keyboard experience when composing madrigals.

Most of the composers discussed in this section, however, were not so versatile, and had little or no experience of styles of composition other than the *a cappella* madrigal. If Gesualdo's work sometimes seems fragmented, over-condensed and rather shapeless, that of his Neapolitan followers is often more so. I suspect that their pieces are short

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29. Larson 1985, 530.
30. A detailed explanation of the instrument and its history is given by Barbieri, 1983, 175-177. Colonna named the instrument after the Roman Accademia dei Lincei, whose Neapolitan "colony" he had helped to found: by 1618, however, Colonna had become a Jesuit and left the Lincei, who were regarded by the Church as subversive because of their interest in experimental astronomy - Maylender 1928-30, 3: 449.
31. see 1: 119-23.
32. It is certainly possible that an instrument which would be able to play all the more wayward consonances could have been used to assist the singers, but there is so far no evidence to support this.

because they did not know how to make them longer by extending their polyphony through such devices as sequences built up from the motifs, and that their harmonic progressions are wayward (as indicated by their term *consonanze stravaganti*) because their vision of both modality and tonality was hazy. Those Roman madrigalists who were influenced by Gesualdo provide a marked contrast in their level of skill and versatility and also their ability to use Gesualdo's intense utterance and colourful harmony within longer, better-organised pieces with a strong underlying sense of tonality.

The concertato *madrigal.*

The *concertato* madrigal never appears to have become firmly established in the Kingdom of Naples. It found a niche in neither aristocratic chamber music nor public entertainment: the former was firmly occupied by the unaccompanied madrigal into the mid-1620s,[33] while the latter demanded more spectacular forms. There were, however, a number of composers experimenting with the new style out in the provinces: unfortunately, only a bass part-book remains of Giacinto Mattei's book a 2-3 (Naples 1634, NV1757) and nothing at all of the second book a 2-4 by de Bellis (1621) reported by Pitoni.[34] Ambrosio Cremonese's volume a 2-6, published in Venice in 1636, does survive, but Larson points out that as he worked in Ortona, on the Adriatic coast, the trading routes would in any case have brought him into closer contact with Venice than with Naples.[35]

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33. Larson 1985, 843, cites Pitoni's reference to a lost book a 5 by Cesare Rosa published in Naples in 1646.
34. Larson 1985, 865. Mattei was *maestro di cappella* to the Archbishop of Cosenza.
35. Larson 1985, 243. See below, 1: 169 for further discussion of Cremonese.

In the south, *concertato* madrigals seem to have appealed more to professional than to amateur composers, perhaps because professional composers were more likely to move north to further their careers. Francesco Pasquali of Cosenza worked in the Papal States: his opus 5 madrigals a 1-5 (Rome 1627, NV2145) and *Varie musiche* (1633, NV2146) were both produced as light entertainment for his employer in Viterbo, Cardinal Tiberio Muti.[36] The signatures of the *Varie musiche* read "Canzonette di Francesco Pasquali": as well as madrigals, the book includes solo settings of sonnets, *romanesche* and villanellas.

Another interesting migrant is Giuseppe Tricarico (1623-97) of Gallipoli, near Lecce, who may have received his early training in Naples.[37] Although he was a wealthy nobleman,[38] he led the career of a professional musician. He lived in Rome and Vienna before returning to Naples by 1670: madrigals by him appear in both of the Roman *Floridi concenti* of 1652-53. Most of his works are cantatas, operas and liturgical music:[39] if his madrigals were found in MS sources, their changes of pace, clear tonality and jaunty melodies would lead us to describe them as cantatas.

The madrigal in Sicily.[40]

The *a cappella* madrigal faded faster in Sicily than in Naples: Giuseppe Palazzotto e Tagliavia's book of 1620 (NV2088) is the only one to relate

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36. NV2146, however, is dedicated from Ancona and published in Orvieto.
37. a biography is given by Pastore 1958, 143-49.
38. ibid., 144.
39. cf. Pastore 1959, 88-125.
40. The most famous Sicilian madrigalist of this period is Sigismondo d'India, but as he spent most of his career in Turin, Modena and Rome I will discuss his madrigals in Chapters 6 and 7.

closely to the Neapolitan tradition. His first book, in 1617, was dedicated to Ossuna, the viceroy of Naples, and it is possible that Palazzotto was there in his service:[41] one work in his book of 1620, "Ancidetemi cruda", is also closely related to the setting published by Lacorcia in Naples in the same year.[42] Palazzotto takes delight in the sort of *consonanza stravagante* with chromatic slide so beloved of Lacorcia, Dentice and other Neapolitans, and he also uses unequal voices in the Neapolitan fashion.[43] Palazzotto was a pupil of Antonio il Verso, and therefore also counts as the last active member of the Sicilian school begun by Vinci.[44] His dedicatee in 1620 was probably a relative: Salvatore de Requesens' wife's mother was a Tagliavia.[45]

The only whiff of trade to enter this book's atmosphere of Palermitan aristocracy comes from the inclusion of a madrigal by G.B. Fossato from Genoa. In the less courtly, more trade-oriented environment of Messina, however, the dedication of Filippo Bonaffino's *concertato* madrigals of 1623 to "Gioanni Watchin, Gentilhuomo Inglese" imples that his debt to Watkin is not related to musical patronage:

> Era obligo della mia antica servitù di confermare à V.S. con qualche dimostratione l'affetto particolare...mà conoscendomi senza forze per adempir questo mio desiderio, m'è parso domandar l'aiuto all'arte della Musica, della quale V.S. è molto benemerita...ambisco in estremo, che quando sarà nelli suoi Paesi, habbi questa memoria della mia servitù...[46]

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41. Larson 1985, 765.
42. see above, p. 104; Larson 1985, 751.
43. see "Piange madonna", Appendix E, 2: 193-202: the text is a strophic canzonetta, an unusual choice for a madrigal setting.
44. the use of the term "school" is justified by Tiby 1969, 53, who traces the direct teacher-pupil links among this group of composers.
45. Larson 1985, 766.
46. "It was an obligation of my long-standing service to confirm to you my particular affection with some demonstration...but knowing myself without the strength to fulfill this wish of mine, it occurred to me to ask for help from the art of Music, in which you are very expert...I hope, finally, that when you are in your own country, you will have this memory of my service."

Bonaffino arranges his texts without making a distinction between spiritual and secular, which occur in roughly equal proportions: while many of the secular poems are concerned with cruelty and therefore perhaps have a "moral" element, there are also bawdier numbers such as Mauritio Moro's "D'amoroso gioir avidi i petti di Filli e di Fileno".[47] The settings are fairly concise, employing in moderation such standard devices as melismas with dotted notes: their simplicity of delivery and of harmonic movement owes something to lighter genres.[48]

The only other Sicilian book to survive from this period takes us well into *concertato* territory. Mario Capuana's *Sacre armonie a tre voci con basso continuo* (NV488) was printed in Venice by Vincenti in 1647 "con privilegio". Capuana, *maestro di cappella* at Noto, makes a rather feudal dedication to Baron Bartolomeo Deodato: "queste armonie...glie le restituisco essendo parto d'un suo servitore, qual io li sono":[49] yet whereas several composers refer to their patrons hearing or listening to their work, Capuana writes that his patron took delight in actually singing them countless times.[50] He himself takes delight in variety, using frequent passages in triple time, whether in *arioso* style or for declamation: the largely syllabic settings are enlivened not only by a wide range of note-values, which extends to demisemiquavers for declamatory purposes, but also by frequent indications of tempo and dynamics.[51] In "Peccai, lasso" he uses quaver triplets to add to the flexibility of his declamation. Some of his effects in "Ite, lagrime

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47. from his *Giardino* of 1593, an edition of which appeared on the Index in 1602-3: Hilgers 1904, 418.
48. see "Ancidetemi pur" in Appendix E, 2: 83-6.
49. "these harmonies...I give back to you, being the offspring of one of your servants, which I am..."
50. "...l'haverne ella preso sommo diletto cantandole infinite volte..."
51. he uses piano, forte, presto, *con area* [sic], *presto assai*, largo, allegro, and *a tempo*.

amiche" verge on the comic, such as the calls of "ite, ite" and "tosto tosto" and the reiteration of "senza Gesù": the overall effect, however, is impressive.[52]

The only generalisation one can draw from these three books is that Sicily was home to a great diversity of musical styles. Unfortunately we lack Palazzotto's *concertato* third book a 3 (Naples, 1632) and both books by Cesare del Giudice[53] to build up a less fragmentary picture.

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52. see Appendix E, 2: 89-93.
53. a book of *concertato* madrigals a 2-4, Messina 1628, and *Motetti e madrigali*, Palermo 1635, both listed by Mongitore: Tiby, 1951, Appendix 2.

CHAPTER 6: THE MADRIGAL IN ROME

The alleged decline of the madrigal.

Various contemporary Roman writers make statements which are sometimes regarded as indicating a general decline in popularity of the madrigal. However, a careful reading of their comments shows that, while fewer Roman noblemen gathered to sing madrigals themselves, the cultivation of the genre was shifting to professionals who adopted different musical criteria. Giustiniani, for example, states:

> ..Nel presente corso dell'età nostra, la musica non è molto in uso, in Roma non essendo esercitata da gentil uomini, nè si suole cantare a più voci al libro...È ben la musica ridotta in un'insolita e quasi nuova perfezione, venendo esercitata da gran numero de' buoni musici...E si canta ad una o al più 3 voci concertate con istrumenti proprii di Tiorba o Chitarra o Cimbalo o con Organo.[1]

and Pietro della Valle agrees that

> Oggi non se ne compongono tanti perchè si usa poco di cantare madrigali, nè ci è occasione in cui si abbiano da cantare, amando più le genti di sentir cantare a mente con gli strumenti in mano con franchezza, che di vedere quattro o cinque compagni che cantino ad un tavolino col libro in mano, che ha troppo del scolaresco e dello studio...[2]

G.B. Doni's opinion was that

> ..assai meno si praticano hoggi i Madrigali, che prima non si faceva: sì per la difficoltà di mettere insieme tanti Cantori: sì perche molto

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1. "Discorso sopra la musica" (MS ca. 1628-40), in Solerti 1903, 121: "...in the present course of our age, music is not much in use, in Rome not being practised by gentlemen, nor does one habitually sing works for several voices from books....Indeed, music is reduced to an unusual and almost new perfection, being practised by a great number of good musicians...and one sings with one or at most three voices concerted with the appropriate instruments such as theorbo, guitar, harpsichord or organ."
2. "Della musica dell'età nostra" (1640), ibid., 171: "these days few madrigals are composed, because one seldom sings them, nor is there any opportunity for them to be sung, as people prefer to hear someone sing freely from memory with an instrument in their hand, rather than to see four or five friends singing at a desk with the book in their hands, which seems too scholarly and studious...".

> meglio vi si godono le parole; e l'artificio Madrigalesco da i periti solo si comprende...[3]

while Domenico Mazzocchi begins the preface to his madrigals of 1638 (NV1777) by saying that

> il più ingegnoso studio, che habbia la Musica,...è quello de' Madrigali; mà pochi hoggidì se ne compongono, e meno se ne cantano, vedendosi per loro disaventura dall'Accademie poco men che banditi...[4]

The phenomenon to which these writers refer, however, is not a complete decline of the madrigal but the end of a tradition of gentlemen meeting in their own academies to sing *a cappella* madrigals. The Roman madrigal began early in the seventeenth century to divide into two professional streams: one is closely related to the lighter *concertato* madrigals being composed further north; the other, more remarkable, is a professional version of the serious post-Gesualdo madrigal. Here the gentlemen did not themselves perform the madrigals, but encouraged their composition and performance and assisted in the creation of a distinctive, coherent aesthetic of madrigal writing. The major patrons involved were the leading Roman cardinals, while most of the theorising and some of the composition were undertaken by their nobler courtiers. These people are the "experts" and "scholars" to whom Doni and della Valle refer above.

Major patrons.

The Roman system of patronage differed substantially from that in the

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3. Doni 1635, 102: "...madrigals are much less in use than before: both because of the difficulty of getting so many singers together and because [with the new style of singing] the words can be much better enjoyed: and because the artifice of madrigals is only understood by experts."
4. "the most ingenious study that Music has...is that of madrigals: but few are composed nowadays, and fewer sung, since one sees them, to their misfortune, almost banished from the Academies...".

rest of Italy, chiefly because of the unusual number of wealthy and powerful patrons: besides the pope, there were the cardinals, the local nobility, and distinguished foreigners such as ambassadors. Where musicians in other centres were usually employed by a single patron, so that their activities were often circumscribed by one person's taste and requirements, artists and musicians in Rome, while normally dwelling with one principal employer (often a prelate with links to their home town), also worked for other patrons within the same circle.[5] Such patrons, with their variety of intellectual interests, encouraged a corresponding variety of forms and styles.

Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia may have been involved in the 1620s in the encouragement of a group of madrigalists inspired by the music of Gesualdo. His initially pro-French politics brought him into close contact with the Barberini circle.[6] Sigismondo d'India seems to have entered his service in the three-week interval between the dedications of his seventh and eighth madrigal-books for five voices in August 1624: he remained with the cardinal until early 1626,[7] and during this time composed a polyphonic mass for Urban VIII. Whether he composed any madrigals for the cardinal in this period is doubtful: the seventh book (NV830) is dedicated to Maurizio shortly before d'India re-entered Savoy service, while the dedication of his eighth book (NV831) describes the works as being born in the Este household in Modena. D'India came into Maurizio's service at a time when Michelangelo Rossi is recorded there,[8] and some of the latter's 32 five-voice madrigals may have been composed

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5. Newcomb in NG, 6: 825 "Frescobaldi".
6. Guichenon 1660, 1030: he moved to Rome from Turin in 1623, the year of Urban VIII's election, but soon changed sides to favour the Spanish.
7. John Joyce & Glenn Watkins in NG, 9: 64-68.
8. Silbiger 1983, 37: Rossi may have arrived in Rome in 1622, and is recorded in Maurizio's household in July 1624.

before he left in 1629 to join the service of the Barberini clan.[9]

Another cardinal who may have moved in these circles was Ippolito Aldobrandini, who employed Domenico Mazzocchi from 1621 until the cardinal's death in 1638.[10] Mazzocchi composed his opera *La catena d'Adone* of 1626 for Prince Aldobrandini,[11] and after 1638 lived with the cardinal's niece Olimpia and her husband Paolo Borghese.[12] In the preface of his *Dialoghi e sonetti* of 1638 (NV1776), dedicated to the cardinal, Mazzocchi describes the works as "born and bred in your house". They use a number of the notational innovations, such as the enharmonic sharp, which also appear in his madrigals of the same year, which were dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini.

The Barberini appear to have been the greatest musical patrons of their era in Rome; thanks largely to Frederick Hammond and Marilyn Lavin, they are certainly the best-documented. Both of Urban VIII's cardinal nephews, Francesco and Antonio, maintained musical establishments which included singers and players of viols, plucked strings, and keyboard instruments.[13] The music that they listened to must have covered a wide range of styles and forms: among the composers whom they employed were leading figures in cantata, oratorio, opera and keyboard music such as Filippo Vitali, Loreto Vittori, Marco Marazzoli, Frescobaldi, Carissimi and both Domenico and Virgilio Mazzocchi.[14] A bill for binding music bought from the

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9. at least one of Rossi's texts, however, refers to an event of 1631 - see 1: 129. Murata 1981, 17, points out that many of Maurizio's musicians went to the Barberini when Maurizio, forced to go as a Savoy hostage to Paris, disbanded his Roman household.
10. Witzenmann 1970, 10.
11. ibid., 11; in honour of Duke Odoardo Farnese - Murata 1981, 6.
12. Witzenmann 1970, 10, 29-30.
13. Hammond 1979, 100-105: their secular brother, Taddeo, employed M.A. Rossi in 1630 and sponsored Rossi's opera *Erminia sul Giordano* in 1633 - Silbiger 1983, 37.
14. Hammond 1979, 97, 101.

Gardano firm in 1634 includes recent *concertato* madrigals by Monteverdi, Rovetta, Crivelli, and Merula; Grandi's *cantade*,[15] and *a cappella* madrigals by Gesualdo (five books), Nenna, d'India, Marco da Gagliano and Fontanelli.[16]

The musical activities of the Barberini included operas,[17] a regular "academy" giving at least some public performances,[18] and domestic chamber music. Capponi's preface to his madrigals of 1640 (NV486) states that Antonio Barberini had listened to them, while Mazzocchi's preface (NV1777) addresses Francesco in more detail:

> ...ella...si è compiaciuta alle volte di honorarli, co'l sentirli cantare sopra il Conserto delle sue Viole...ella favorisce, e promove le buone Arti, e particolarmente questo nobile studio, rendendolo all'antica sua stima...[19]

The extent of Barberini patronage of Michelangelo Rossi's madrigals is less clear, as these appear to have circulated only in MS: there is no date, let alone dedication, although the setting of "Mentre d'ampia voragine tonante" probably dates from 1632.[20] The non-publication of the madrigals may result from the withdrawal of funding when Rossi defected

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15. "Cantade 1o 2o": composer's name not given.
16. Hammond 1979, 108. Wessely's reconstruction, 1975, of the inventory of music sold in Rome by the Franzini firm shows a good representation of contemporary Neapolitan madrigalists (e.g. de Bellis, Lacorcia), but relatively few recent Venetian publications: it would therefore be necessary for the Barberini to order such music direct from Venice. This finding should, however, be treated with some caution as the inventory is derived from Pitoni, who may have particular biases.
17. Hammond 1979, 111-22.
18. ibid., 105-7.
19. "you...have been pleased sometimes to honour [these madrigals], by hearing them sung to your consort of viols...you encourage, and promote the fine arts, and particularly this noble study, returning it to its former esteem". The identification of Francesco as the dedicatee of these madrigals is made by Hammond 1979, 97 n.5.
20. see 1: 129.

to Modena from Antonio Barberini's service in 1634.[21] In view of the wide range of music that they patronised, this cultivation of the madrigal by the Barberini was evidently an informed choice, not an unthinking adherence to old-fashioned views. The compositions that they encouraged linked older experimental traditions dating back to the mid-sixteenth century with a number of fresh ideas.[22]

Theoretical pursuits: canons and keyboard tunings.

The theorist G.B. Doni was closely associated with the Barberini: as well as dedicating his *Lyra Barberina* of 1632 to Urban VIII, he refers in a treatise on keyboard instruments to experimental instruments with dual or triple keyboards which he has designed for himself, for Pietro della Valle and for Antonio Barberini.[23] He also refers to the influence of his ideas

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21. Silbiger 1983, 28 and 37. The only MS containing all 32 madrigals, *US-BE* 176, offers conflicting evidence as to provenance and date (private communication to Catherine Moore from Margaret Murata). The outside cover appears to bear the Wasa arms: these may be those of Christina of Sweden or of her Polish cousin, Alexander Charles, who visited Rome in 1634 - the Barberini revived Landi's sacred opera *Sant'Alessio* for his benefit (Murata 1981, 22) - while there is also a nineteenth-century Savoy bookplate. Several other manuscripts contain 31 madrigals. It is possible that *US-BE* 176 was a presentation copy prepared for Alexander Charles which included a very recent piece of which another official copy was not kept. The existence of several eighteenth-century English copies of 31 madrigals suggests that an exemplar containing 31 pieces may have been brought to England in the late seventeenth century by a Roman musician who had had some contact with Rossi: Vincenzo Albrici may be a possibility (cf. Mabbett 1986).

22. Filippo Vitali's connection with the Barberini appears to have begun after the publication of his madrigal-books, which are discussed below, 1: 146-9.

23. Doni 1763, 324-326: "Fra moltissimi Instrumenti Musicali da me ritrovati, ne sono stati felicemente messi in pratica alcuni, e massime diversi Cembali di due, e di tre tastature, che con proporzionato vocabolo Diarmonici, e Triarmonici si chiamono, ne' quali con grandissima facilità si suona, e compone per tutte le antiche Armonie....ho ridotto in pratica in alcuni instrumenti, come è quello dell'Eminentiss. Sig, Cardinale Antonio Barberini, simile ad uno, che ne ho quì in Firenze con due tastature, e quello del Sig. Pietro della Valle con tre."

about the various Greek genera upon contemporary composers including Pietro Eredia, Luigi Rossi, Pietro della Valle, Virgilio Mazzocchi,[24] and Domenico Mazzocchi.[25] Doni's work on the Greek genera is part of a tradition going back to Vicentino, but he criticises Vicentino's theories as well as the attempts of many composers to lead modern music back to the "perfection" of the ancients. His reason for publishing his treatise on the enharmonic genus is "perchè si chiariscano una volta i moderni Compositori, riconoscendo, che se vanno cercando novità in quest'Arte; non nel Genere Enarmonico, ma nella varietà de' Tuoni, e Armonie, massimamente debbono ricercarle".[26]

As late as 1695 this comment is echoed by Angelini Bontempi:

> Il volere con la vana & insipida introduttione del Contrapunto Enharmonico far nascer l'Ente dal Non Ente, è un far nascere ancora la prima contradittione: la quale quanto si scopra è manifesti si può considerare non solo nel discorso che fa il Zarlino sopra il Contrapunto Enharmonico: ma più chiaramente nella Divisione; Pronuntiatione; Spetie della Dia tessaron Dia pente e Dia pason, e Clausole Enharmoniche, che...hà dimostrato il Kirchero nella sua Musurgia; come se Virgilio e Domenico Mazzocchi, Giacomo Carissimi, Horatio Benevoli, Antonio Maria Abbatini, Francesco Foggia, Galeazzo Sabbatini, e tanti altri insigni Professori, che fiorivano, quando egli scrisse, in Roma, havessero havuto indigenza di simili ammaestramenti.[27]

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24. ibid., 323.
25. ibid., 234.
26. ibid., 278: "so that modern composers are enlightened once and for all, recognising that if they seek novelty in their art they should look for it not in the enharmonic genus but above all in the variety of notes and harmony".
27. Angelini Bontempi 1695, 169: "To wish to create the existent from the non-existent through the empty and insipid introduction of enharmonic counterpoint, is to give rise again to the first contradiction: which, how much it reveals and manifests itself one can consider, not only in Zarlino's discourse on enharmonic counterpoint, but more clearly in the division, pronunciation and species of the diatessaron, diapente and diapason, and enharmonic clauses, which...Kircher demonstrated in his *Musurgia*, as if Virgilio and Domenico Mazzocchi, Carissimi, Benevoli, Abbatini, Foggia, Galeazzo Sabbatini, and all the other distinguished composers who flourished, when he wrote, in Rome, had any need of such instruction".

He does, however, himself deal at length with enharmonic theory, giving a phrase-by-phrase gloss of Aristoxenus, and pointing out a continuing tradition of enharmonic ornamentation.[28]

Doni is insistent that the division of every semitone has no basis in classical theory and that such divisions should be termed not enharmonic but panharmonic.[29] He describes a range of instruments he has designed, which are intended to be able to play in each of the three genera without needing to retune, rather than to mix different genera simultaneously.[30] They include "monarmonii" which are diatonic with white keys and B flat only; "minarmonii" with split black keys to allow separate sharps and flats (i.e. a 19-note octave); and two types of panharmonic instrument, "polyarmonii" with a separate keyboard for each genus, and "mistarmonii" with five dieses to each tone (i.e. a 31-note octave).

This fascination with different kinds of keyboard, already seen in Naples but in this period especially apparent in Rome, perhaps requires some explanation. Italian composers of this era still regard quarter-comma meantone temperament as their standard keyboard tuning. This gives pure thirds, rather small fifths, and a "wolf" interval which is outrageously out of tune, usually located between E flat and G#. The simplest form of split-key keyboard avoids the "wolf" by the simple expedient of supplying separate keys and strings for D# and E flat, G# and A flat, giving 14 notes to the octave. This still left tuning difficulties: the instrument would have to be tuned differently, for example, according to whether C# or D flat were used in a piece: if both occurred in the same octave, a fully chromatic keyboard of nineteen notes to the octave would

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28. see 1: 131.
29. Doni 1763, 286, 296, 307.
30. ibid., 324-42.

be needed.[31] This tuning allows the performance of most works using the "enharmonic" genus, which many contemporary theorists and composers understood as involving the division of certain major semitones into two minor semitones or dieses: Mazzocchi describes the function of the enharmonic sharp in his *Dialoghi e sonetti* of 1638 as being to create, for example, a major third above G#, a function which can be accomplished by a fully chromatic (19-note) tuning. Even with a nineteen-note keyboard, however, the more remote triads will still not be in tune:[32] the "enharmonic" keyboard of 31 or more notes to the octave helps to solve this problem. Such a tuning could take the physical form of a rather cumbersome single keyboard or of a two- or three-manual instrument. At the opposite extreme, some musicians in the Barberini circle were also experimenting with 12-note equal temperament.[33]

Instruments recorded in inventories of the Barberini households appear to include several harpsichords with split keys or multiple keyboards.[34] It is impossible to tell from the documents transcribed by Hammond and Lavin exactly what types of keyboard and tuning were present on each instrument: the inventories concerned tend to describe the instruments by their appearance - size, colour and the material of the case. For clearer evidence that both cardinals possessed enharmonic, or at least chromatic,

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31. i.e. A, A#, B flat, B, B#, C, C#, D flat, D, D#, E flat, E, E#, F, F#, G flat, G, G#, A flat.
32. if, for example, F flat and C flat are needed alongside E# and B#.
33. cf. Barbieri 1983, 144-6: equal temperament and such extensions of it as parallel keyboards a quarter-tone apart appear, however, to have found little favour with either Kircher or Doni - 147-52.
34. Lavin 1975, 102, 155-6; Hammond 1979, 103-4: at least two of the sixteen keyboard instruments in Antonio's household in 1636 apparently had split keys, while Francesco possessed a "cimbalo da sonare a tre ordine fatto dal Cortonese": his tuner and repairer, G.B. da Cortona, was known as a builder of split-key harpsichords.

instruments we can, however, look to Doni's reference to Antonio[35] and the dedication of Mazzocchi's 1638 madrigals, which use the enharmonic sharp, to Francesco.

As well as exercising their mathematical and debating talents on issues of keyboard tuning and temperament, the Romans were also unique in Italy in their enthusiasm for the writing of canons, which was seen as an intellectual test. Romano Micheli and Gregorio Veneri each published a madrigal in canon.[36] Pier Francesco Valentini was best known as the composer of the *Nodus Salomonis* (Solomon's knot) for 96 voices - for which Kircher proposed an expanded solution for 12,200,000 voices, taking 232 days to perform.[37] Valentini also composed two books of madrigals, probably at an early stage in his career (NV2788-9)): they are extremely contrapuntal, very diatonic, and rather dull.[38] Antimo Liberati describes him as a nobleman and dilettante and suggests that this lack of professional experience accounts for his lack of success in "practice" - this term may refer at least in part to his compositions:

> ...Pier Francesco Valentini nobile Romano, peritissimo Teorico, e specolativo Musico, se bene nella prattica non troppo vago, e felice; à causa forse perche la nascita nobile, e le ricchezze proprie non gli permettevano d'avvilirsi nel servire, ed'essercitarsi nelle Cappelle per prezzo, ch'è'l vero stimolo d'approfittarsi in questa Virtù....[39]

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35. Doni 1763, 326; cited above, p. 119.
36. see below, p. 124-5.
37. Kircher 1650, 403, 583.
38. they were the first works to be published under the terms of his will in 1654: the inclusion of continuo (of the *basso seguente* kind) suggests that they may indeed have been intended for performance. The copies in *I-Ras* have uncut pages, but then they were published posthumously.
39. Liberati 1685, 26: "P.F. Valentini, a Roman nobleman, a most expert theorist and musical thinker, if not particularly graceful and successful in practice; possibly because his noble birth and personal fortune did not permit him to humble himself to serve, and work in chapels for money, which is the real stimulus to avail oneself of in this art...".

Romano Micheli (c. 1575-1659) devoted all his life to the canon. His lone "madrigal" setting of 1621 (Rome: Soldi, NV1846) is intended to prove the superiority of the Romans over the Venetians in the writing of canons.[40] The text is a slightly altered version of the twelfth stanza of Petrarch's *sestina* "Mia benigna fortuna", the *sestina* being, in its complexity, the poetic equivalent of the canon.[41] The title page describes the work very accurately:

> Madrigale a sei voci in canone, con la resolutione delle parti, nel quale per mezo de gli accidenti l'armonia discende un' tuono e di poi ascende il tuono già disceso, potendosi anco cantare per i suoi riversi, come li musici periti sanno: studio curioso non più veduto.[42]

In his dedication to Cardinal Ludovisi, Micheli adds that if it is not as pretty as other madrigals, this is excusable in view of its level of artifice.[43] As a madrigal it is, indeed, not notable for the quality of its word-setting: he includes the usual rest in "sospirate", and it can be argued that the whole canon begins cleverly to rise at "muti una volta quel suo antico stile", but his treatment of the prosody is haphazard and, indeed, the text is itself hardly comprehensible without the rest of the sestina.

The rather younger Gregorio Veneri "romano", born ca. 1602, was working in Prato, Tuscany, by 1631, when his madrigal in canon was published

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40. see Appendix E, 2: 179-84: the Avviso attached to his canon reads: "Conforme alla prima stampa, ch'io inviai da Venetia alle Signorie loro, nella quale promisi, che nella mia venuta in Roma le havrei fatto sentire, o vedere, che con li documenti da me presi in questa nostra scuola Romana haveno composto opere con diversi curiosi studi, & inventioni non più fatte da Musico alcuno...".
41. "notti" is changed to "note" in Micheli's setting, presumably to add to its musicality.
42. "Madrigal for six voices in canon, with the resolution of the parts, in which by means of the accidentals the harmony descends a tone and then ascends the tone descended, being able also to be sung in its reverses, as expert musicians know: a curious study not seen before."
43. "...se non fosse di quella vaghezza come gl'altri Madrigali, sarà scusabile per la pienezza de suoi artificij...".

(Firenze: Pignoni, NV2849).[44] It is plain that he belongs to a younger generation than Micheli: although he creates more difficulties for performers by failing to supply a resolution, the canon aims at a truly madrigalian setting of the text without elaborate devices. It is written in a surprisingly *concertato* style, with short melodic motifs stressing quaver declamation and interspersed with long rests. The declamation is if anything more naturalistic than in his five-voice madrigals of 1620 (Bracciano: Fei, NV2848), which indicates that Liberati may have been right in saying (above) that experience as a professional musician was a valuable part of a composer's development.

The more hedonistic streak.

As G.B. Doni's theoretical writings are relatively well known to us, especially those regarding "monody" - a term which he apparently invented - we have tended to assume both that his views on music are more austere than they really are, and that such austere views were widely held. There is evidence that the general outlook in Rome was of a more hedonistic character: we can begin with Doni's own comment that

> Or chiara cosa è ch'il concento ne' Madrigali, è più pieno, sonoro, e soave; perche le voci sono in maggior numero; le consonanze più variate; e l'aria più dilettevole; per quegli artifitii di fughe, &c....[45]

Indeed, although Doni emphasised the affective power of the solo voice and the importance of conveying the words clearly,[46] he was not in favour of operatic recitative, preferring spoken dialogue or polyphonic accompaniments rather than a chordal basso continuo.[47]

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44. see Appendix E, 2: 311-4.
45. Doni 1635, 103: "now it is clear that the harmony of madrigals is fuller, more sonorous, and sweeter; because there are more voices; the consonances are more varied; and the air more delightful, because of those devices of fugues, etc...".
46. ibid., 95, 102 etc.
47. Palisca in NG, 5: 552.

Giustiniani refers to recitative as boring in an intriguing passage:

> Questo stile recitativo già era solito nelle rappresentazioni cantate dalle donne in Roma, come ora è anche in uso; ma riesce tanto rozzo e senza varietà di consonanze nè d'ornamenti, che se non venisse moderata la noia che si sente dalla presenza di quelle recitanti, l'auditorio lascierebbe li banchi e la stanza vuoti affatto.[48]

The Barberini operas are notable for their avoidance of the classical tendencies of the early Florentine operas, both in the choice of subjects - historical or religious, not mythological - and in the style of their setting.[49]

Lodovico Cenci, apparently a friend of Doni, states that in his judgement "delight is the aim of music, leaving the moving of emotions to speech".[50]

Gratioso Uberti puts this more bluntly:

> la dolcezza del canto, non consiste nel proferire, e fare intendere le parole: ma nella soavità della voce, nella varietà del suono...[51]

Sweetness, however, must be tempered with learning:

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48. cited Solerti 1903, 122 : "this recitative style was once customary in the representations sung by women in Rome, as it is now still in use; but it is so crude and without variety of consonances or ornaments, that if the boredom that one feels were not moderated by the presence of those female performers, the audience would leave the benches and the room quite empty". It is unlikely that our usual interpretation of "rappresentazione" - as staged, acted performances - can apply here: women singers were not permitted on stage in the Papal States at all in theory, and very rarely in practice. Nor were women employed even in the Barberini chamber music - Hammond 1979, 102, although singers such as Leonora Baroni were obviously performing somewhere. In Cenci's preface (see Appendix C, 2: 35) "rappresentare" appears to refer to any musical performance, including private chamber music.
49. Murata 1981, 5-6: after Urban's death his nephews did sponsor a lavish production in Paris of Luigi Rossi's *Orfeo*, which also included female singers - 46-7.
50. see Appendix C for full text and translation.
51. Uberti 1630, 85: "the sweetness of song does not consist of projecting the words and making them understood: but in the sweetness of the voice, and the variety of sound...".

> Il comporre cose recitative, & ariose canzonette non si niega, che non sia cosa lodevole, e di gusto alla brigata; ma sono cose vuote di armonia, di gravità, e di varietà, sono cose di poco studio...[52]

It would appear therefore that madrigals could please a discerning Roman public both as displays of intellect and as pleasant sounds.

Madrigalists involved with the Roman aesthetic.

The group of madrigalists chiefly associated with the Barberini circle (M.A. Rossi, Domenico Mazzocchi, Gino Angelo Capponi and Ludovico Cenci) show, within their individual styles, evidence of a distinctive Roman aesthetic which is linked to both the "intellectual" and "hedonistic" elements in Roman musical society described above.

Michelangelo Rossi's madrigals are the earliest of this group and the most closely linked to the madrigal styles of Gesualdo and Sigismondo d'India.[53] Rossi came from Genoa, and may have been a pupil of Simone Molinaro, who published the Gesualdo madrigals in score in 1613.[54] His works display a highly unstable tonality: only seven of the 32 madrigals finish in the same key that they started in. "O prodighi di fiamme" is typical in this respect, opening in G major and finishing on an F#-major triad (in the context of an imperfect cadence in B minor). His large harmonic vocabulary would call for at least a fully chromatic harpsichord if these pieces were to be accompanied,[55] but his vocal writing is very

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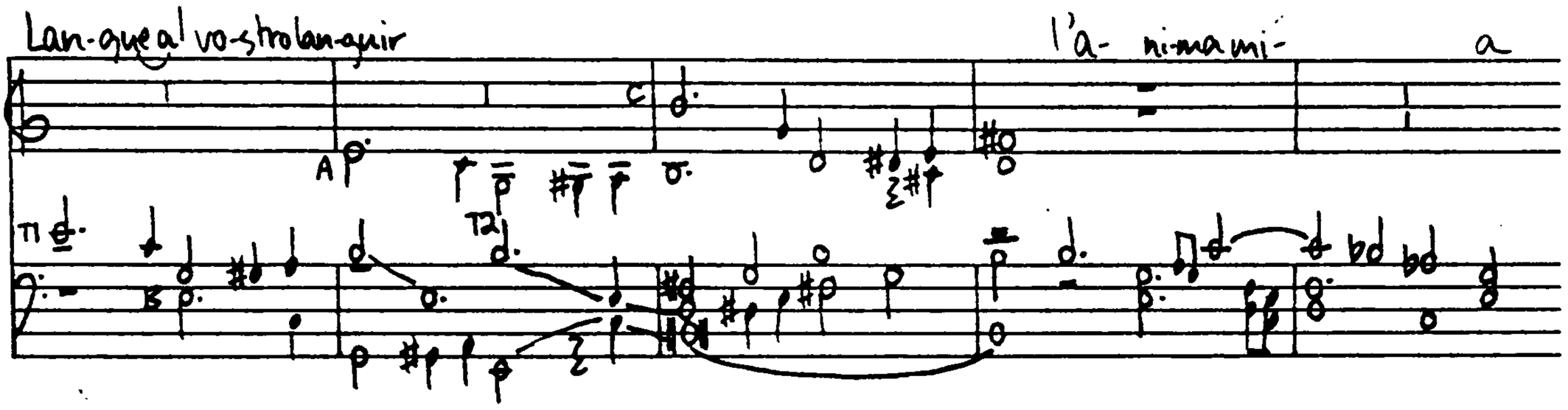
52. ibid., 146: "I don't deny that composing things in recitative and airy canzonets is a praiseworthy thing and to the taste of the herd; but they are empty of harmony, of gravity, of variety, they are things of little study...".
53. see 1: 119, n.21, regarding sources: I am very grateful to Catherine Moore for information about, and transcriptions of, the madrigals discussed here.
54. Silbiger 1983, 31.
55. "Langue al vostro languir", for example, uses C# and D flat in the same octave.

successful in allowing singers to pitch even the more remote triads without difficulty.

That Rossi does not lose his listener in a maze of unconnected harmonies, despite the apparent lack of orientation of such lines as the opening of "Langue al vostro languir" ("my soul languishes at your languishing") -



- is to the credit of his understanding of form and his expert handling of dissonance. Like most of the Neapolitan composers he generally confines the more remote harmonic moves (*consonanze stravaganti*) to homophonic passages, which alternate with bursts of harmonically straightforward imitation. He also makes effective use of block chords, as in "O prodighi di fiamme", where all the exclamations are delivered in simple harmonies: the three elements of simple homophonic passages, imitative movement and more remote homophony are at first kept distinct and then gradually integrated in the course of the piece. Unlike Gesualdo, Rossi is quite sparing in his use of dissonance, and seldom builds up piles of suspensions, but the dissonances he does use are telling, as in the entry of the quinto G under the alto F# in the next example. The element which adds momentum to even his most remote harmonies is his use of dominant sevenths as secondary dominants to create a sense of tonal movement rather than of arbitrary chord sequences.[56] A good example is the line "ancidetela almeno" ("kill it, at least") from "O prodighi di fiamme":

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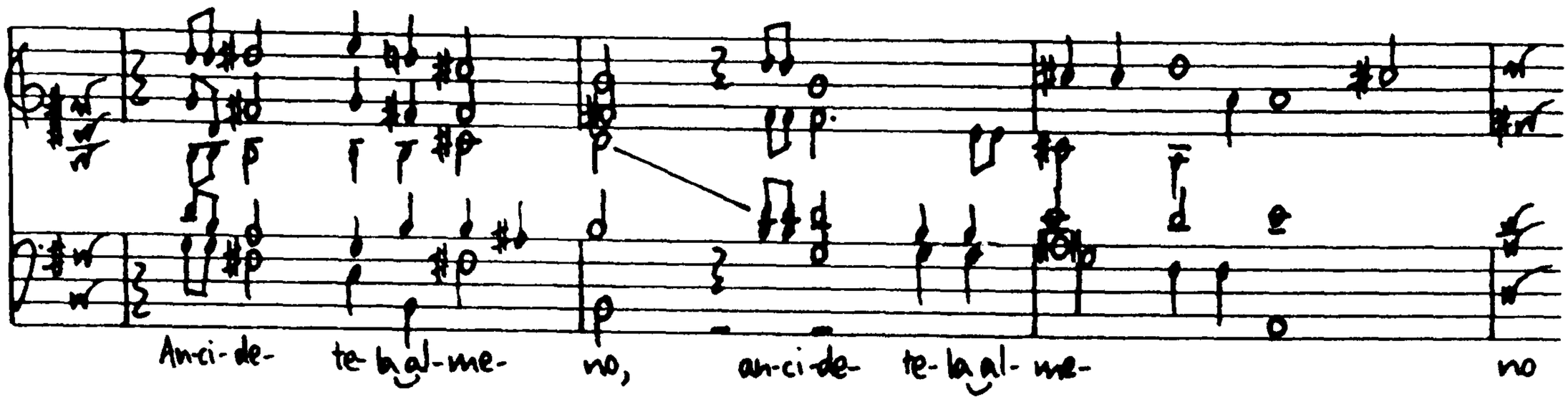
56. Palazzotto (see Appendix E, 2: 193) uses the "dominant seventh" to get out of a chromatic slide in two voices (e.g. bars 18-19).



This technique is also taken up to some extent by Mazzocchi: see the example from his "Pian piano" below, p. 133.

Rossi's choice of texts contrasts strongly with that of Mazzocchi, who favours Roman poets: Rossi chooses many "standard" texts by Guarini, and a few by the Rinaldis, Marino and Fulvio Testi, all then readily accessible in print. Several texts, however, including three of the five sonnets, are not yet identified: a fourth sonnet is a highly obscure adaptation from two *strambotti* by Nappi.[57] The imagery in the Nappi text, "Che pensi, cor di tigre", is extreme even by Marinist standards, yet still pallid by comparison with a remarkable (unidentified) text, "Mentre d'ampia voragine tonante". Its ABABABAB rhyme scheme, Latinate vocabulary and contorted syntax - the entire text is a subordinate clause - raise the possibility that "Mentre d'ampia" is a translation from a longer Latin work, probably classical.[58] More importantly, the subject matter gives internal evidence for a date after December 1631: the text is the only one I know of in the history of the Italian madrigal to describe a volcanic eruption, and the only event likely to have triggered such a setting is the catastrophic eruption of Vesuvius on 16 December 1631 which killed 4,000 people. This dating would place this madrigal, at least, under the patronage of the Barberini rather than of Maurizio di

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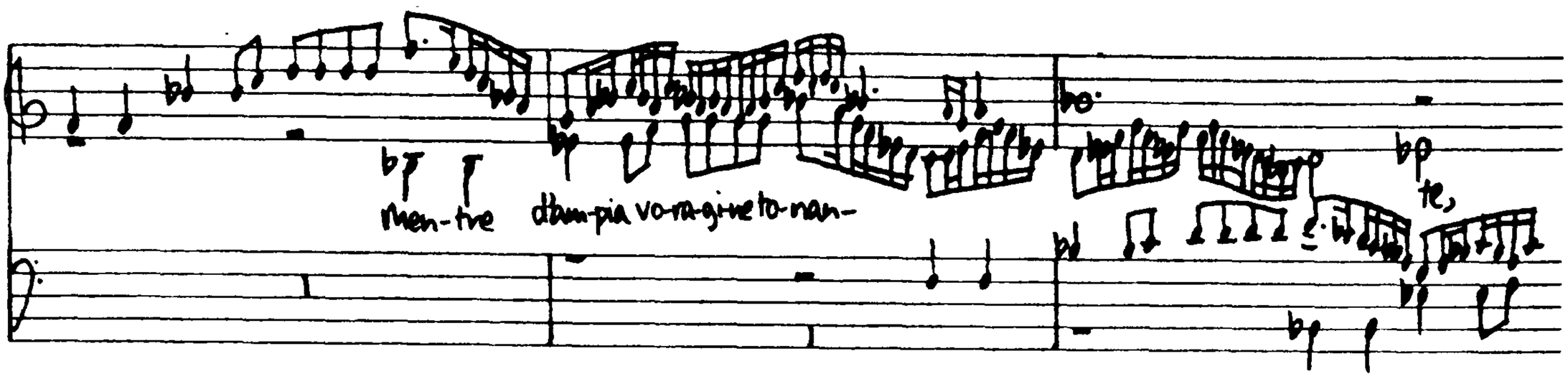
57. identified by Catherine Moore from a manuscript in *I-Bu*.
58. alternatively, as one of the texts discussed in Chapter 4, p. 92, was a sonnet with an ABABABAB octave, "Mentre d'ampia" might be the octave of another sonnet by the same poet, given the rarity of the rhyme scheme.

Savoia, although Rossi's other madrigals may have been composed earlier. "Mentre d'ampia voragine tonante" ("while from a wide thundering abyss") makes remarkable use of *passaggi* to illustrate the force of the eruption:



Domenico Mazzocchi is the composer most clearly linked to the tradition of enharmonic experiments outlined above. In the preface to his madrigals of 1638 (NV1777) he gives explanations of three new signs: C, indicating what we would now term *messa di voce*; X, indicating the enharmonic diesis;

> ...benche all'effetto sia dell'istesso valore del Diesis Cromatico nel crescere un Semituono minore, sono però frà di loro di differente natura, per esser situati in differenti luoghi, &c. essendo che il Cromatico si ritrovi frà tuoni, quelli dividendo, e l'Enarmonico solo frà Semituoni, per essere il suo proprio il dividere i maggiori Semituoni.[59]

and V, indicating

> sollevatione, ò (come si suol dire) messa di voce, che nel caso nostro è l'andar crescendo à poco, à poco la voce di fiato, e di tuono insieme, per esser specie della metà del sopradetto X, come si vede, e si pratica ne gli Enarmonici.[60]

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59. "although in effect it has the same value as the Chromatic sharp in raising the pitch a minor semitone, they are however of different natures, being situated in different places, etc., as the Chromatic is found dividing notes a tone apart, and the Enharmonic only between semitones, as its property is to divide major semitones."

60. "elevation, or (as it is usually called) *messa di voce*, which in our case is to raise the voice little by little in volume, and pitch together, being a half-species of the above-mentioned X, as one sees, and it is practised in enharmonics". Mazzocchi's definition of the enharmonic sharp indicates the division of the tone into three parts - a chromatic semitone added to a [diatonic] semitone twice as large and therefore divisible in half - which implies that he was thinking of a tuning cycle using nineteen notes to the octave (cf. Barbieri 1983, 132). It remains

While this form of notation is not encountered among the other Roman madrigalists, dal Pane's use of the "natural" sign (B quadro) in "Udite lagrimosi" may also represent an enharmonic practice.[61]

Such practices may have been more frequent, at least in Rome, than the notation of surviving works would lead us to suppose. In his *Arie devote* of 1608, Ottavio Durante describes the rising *messa di voce*:

> Per il crescimento della voce dal tuono al semituono si assegna il diesis nella nota ligata per dar ad intendere, che bisogna comminciar à crescere a poco a poco facendo conto che vi siano 4 come, sino che si arrivi al perfetto crescimento, il che quando è fatto bene commove assai.[62]

Near the other end of the century, Angelini Bontempi, who was taught in his youth (the 1630s-1640s) by Domenico Mazzocchi's brother Virgilio, describes and illustrates the enharmonic division of major semitones as a still-current form of vocal ornament - the rising *messa di voce*, although he does not use this term. He is, however, emphatic that it should not be notated by the composer: he illustrates the division in performance of a written line, E-F-A-B flat, into E-EX-F-A-AX-B flat, and notes:

> ...è peculiare del canto de più valorosi & esercitati Cantori, e non entra in maniera alcuna nelle ragioni del Contrapunto...così non dee dal Contrapuntista esser notato in alcun Diagramma moderno; e per non offendere il Cantore, quasiche voglia il Contrapuntista ammaestrarlo, come fanciullo, nella maniera del canto; e perche non tutti egualmente si rendono habili al suo proferimento, senza evidente offesa dell'Udito.[63]

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uncertain whether the instrument to accompany these works would in fact need to be "enharmonic" (31-note) or simply "chromatic" (19-note).

61. see below, 1: 138-9, and Appendix E, 2: 203-11.

62. cited by Goldschmidt 1890, 32: "to raise the voice from the tone to the semitone one places a diesis in the tied note to indicate, that one must begin to rise little by little taking into account that there are four commas until one reaches the perfect elevation, which, when it is well done, is very moving".

63. Angelini Bontempi 1695, 158: "it is peculiar to the singing of the finest and most experienced singers, and does not have anything to do with the process of counterpoint...thus it must not be notated by the composer in any modern score; both not to offend the singer, as if the composer wished to teach him, like a boy, how to sing; and because not all singers are equally able to produce it, without giving evident offence to the ear".

This embellishment appears to have been still in use in the early eighteenth century, although Tosi refers to it in passing and without specific mention of divisions of the semitone:

> ...Giacchè non è possibile (come si disse) che un Cantante salga di grado coll'Appogiatura dal Semituono maggiore ad un minore, il buon gusto gl'insegna di ascendere un Tuono per discendere poscia coll'Appoggiatura, ovvero gli suggerisce di passarvi senza la medesima con una messa di voce crescente...[64]

Mazzocchi's volume is a conspectus of several different types of composition.[65] The first eight pieces are *concertato* works with harpsichord, making much use of contrast between solo, duet, trio and tutti passages. The setting of the seven-line Marino madrigal "Udito ho Citherea" provides an illustration of how such contrasts can be used to shape a piece. A florid bass solo makes the first statement of the first four lines. These are then reworked, using the same melodic material, as: a homophonic tutti for the first line; close imitation by alto and tenor for lines 2-3, followed by the two sopranos repeating line 3; and, for the fourth line, a trio for the upper voices, followed by a tutti version. The fifth line is set as a canonic tutti, while the final couplet is given firstly to a tenor solo and then embroidered in a concluding tutti.

The last madrigal of this group, "Pian piano, aure tranquille" is given a special mention in Mazzocchi's preface because of its notation. It is

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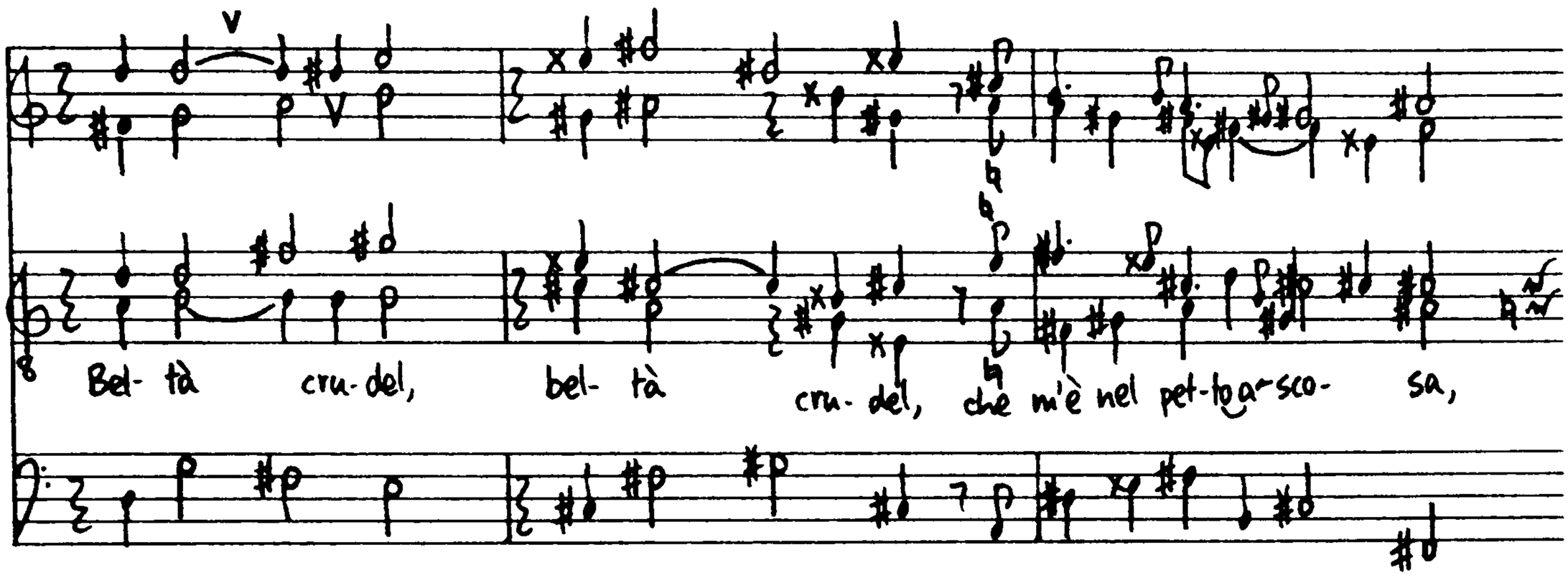
64. Tosi 1723, 22; translated in Tosi 1742, 38, as: "Since, as I said, it is not possible for a Singer to rise gradually with an *Appoggiatura* to a *Semitone Minor*, Nature will teach him to rise a Tone, that from thence he may descend with an *Appoggiatura* to that *Semitone*; or if he has a Mind to come to it without the *Appoggiatura*, to raise the Voice with a *Messa di Voce*,the Voice always rising till he reaches it...".
65. I have been unable to obtain further details of the thesis in progress about these madrigals, including a critical edition, by Richard Engelhardt, Kent State University, U.S.A..

remarkable, too, for its counterpoint, which employs an unusually high proportion of tutti writing; while some of the harmonies used to declaim its last line ("beltà crudel, che m'è nel petto ascosa": "cruel beauty which is hidden in my breast") show an affinity with the examples of Rossi given above.



The tremendous variety of these settings slightly overshadows the eight *a cappella* pieces which follow. These nevertheless display a similar variety despite the need for fuller textures; they employ triple-time sections, elaborate passage-work and vocal pedal points (e.g. the ending of "Fuggi fuggi" and the repeated minims opening "Di marmo siete voi").

The final group of works, "variamente concertati", includes occasional compositions such as three choruses taken from the oratorio *Coro di profeti.*[66] Only one of these pieces is labelled "madrigal". The remainder comprise: a "canzone" with an extended sectional structure (although without refrain); two "arias", one a homophonic piece largely in triple metre, the other with a similar "aria" opening but rapidly becoming more madrigalian; and the often-mentioned "Ruggiero a 5 per le Viole", "Chiudesti i lumi Armida", where the *aria di Ruggiero* is given unusually free treatment.

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66. Witzenmann 1970, 164.

Unlike the noble courtiers Capponi and Cenci, Mazzocchi was a professional employee of this intellectual circle, which may help to account for the wider variety of forms and styles in his madrigal-book (his rigorous training in composition would also contribute to the high quality of his work). Many of these works, especially the spiritual and occasional pieces, are settings to order of texts provided for him by prelates in the Barberini circle: he therefore takes the unusual step of naming the authors.

Gino Angelo Capponi (1608-1688) was a Roman descendant of a Florentine noble family, and received the honorific title of Marchese di Pescia from Urban VIII.[67] His noble status is underlined by the fact that neither his own name nor that of his dedicatee, Antonio Barberini, appears on the title-page of his first book a 5 (Rome: Grignani, 1640, NV486), while the wording of the dedication does not suggest that the madrigals were exactly written to order: "...non sdegnò ella nella loro prima origine sentirne alcune...".[68] As Capponi was also known as a poet, some of the nine unique texts in this volume may be his own. He also sets one poem by Tansillo, five by P.F. Paoli,[69] and four anonymous texts which had each been set once previously by various composers in the 1570s. These settings, although modest, are by no means as old-fashioned as the inclusion of sixty-year-old texts might suggest: Capponi also contributed three-voice *concertato* madrigals to Florido de Silvestris' two anthologies in 1652-1653.

The preface to Ludovico Cenci's madrigals of 1647 (NV544) is one of the most interesting documents available regarding the aesthetic of the Roman madrigal as cultivated in Barberini circles.[70] Like Capponi, Cenci is a

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67. Litta 1819-1923, tav.18.
68. "you did not disdain to hear some of them when they were first written..."
69. all of these appear in Paoli 1637, published in Rome.
70. see Appendix C for full text and translation.

nobleman; for his book, in the place of the usual dedication, he writes an extensive essay on madrigal composition, many points from which can be further illustrated by reference to his Roman contemporaries.

At a time when instrumental participation in the madrigal was increasingly the norm, Cenci expresses a preference for unaccompanied voices, "since the human voice is sweeter than any other sound, for it alone has the prerogative of being able to form words". As early as 1620 Cesare Zoilo's madrigals had been published in Venice with a continuo part added under protest (NV3028): Zoilo stated in a postscript that the continuo was purely a commercial necessity, and that he would prefer them to be sung by voices alone.[71] Michelangelo Rossi's madrigals are also unaccompanied, while Mazzocchi includes eight unaccompanied madrigals in his book, leaving them in the score "nudi, e schietti, si come io desidero, che si cantino".[72] Cenci notes, however, that instrumental accompaniment is a necessity in most public settings because of the size of the rooms and the amount of extraneous noise: for unaccompanied works one needs a suitably-sized room - "stanza per Accademia" - and, above all, silence. Among the Roman composers, only Capponi refers to the continuo (optional in his publication) as an advantage: "se però ci s'adopra, [the madrigals] ne riceveranno aiuto, e tornamento".[73] It is evident that such an *a cappella* tradition persists out of a preference for the sonority of unaccompanied voices, and also because of the opinion that the inclusion

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71. The Neapolitan reprint of 1627, NV3029, omits the continuo part.
72. "naked, and unadorned, as I desire that they should be sung". The only *a cappella* madrigals to come from Vienna in this period (by Giovanni Valentini, NV2782) were also composed for a Roman patron: see 1: 235-6.
73. "if it is used, however, the madrigals will receive help and convenience from it" - note in Bc part, NV486.

of a basso continuo mars the subtlety of the rarer harmonies: instrumental participation is seen as more suited to performances in large halls (possibly as background music) than to a truly select gathering.

The production of scores for some of these works indicates a scholarly bias, and may be also a homage to Gesualdo, whose madrigals were among the first to be published in score.[74] Mazzocchi and Cenci seem to have different priorities in publishing their scores. Mazzocchi refers firstly to the usefulness of the score in performance, before he adds:

> Potrà servire anche allo Speculativo, che dove non sarà conceduto all'orecchie il poterli sentire, non sarà almeno tolto à gli occhi, ò all'intelletto il godere la miglior parte.[75]

Cenci, on the other hand, addresses his comments primarily to theorists and scholars, pointing out the practical usefulness of the score only as an afterthought.

The tradition of writing canons is probably a factor in the emphasis that these madrigalists place on counterpoint. The most interesting part of Cenci's preface is where he sets out a theory of madrigal composition which tries to reconcile the exigencies of learned counterpoint with the demands of the text. He stresses that the beauty of composition arises "from the imitation of parts among each other, and not by putting consonances and dissonances together haphazardly", so that, in his view, it is impossible to achieve good results without combining several phrases of text and music. On the other hand, each contrapuntal subject and the text that goes with it must be clearly audible. The subject

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74. the first madrigal score, of Rore, was published in 1577; the score of Gesualdo's collected books for five voices in 1613.

75. "it will also be useful to the theorist, for if his ears are not allowed to hear [the madrigals], at least his eyes and intellect will not be deprived of enjoying the best part of them".

should be stated on its first appearance in close fugue or, in accompanied pieces, by a single voice; it might also be picked out in soprano or bass, with the other voices gradually joining in.

The aim is always "to imitate the force of the words as much as possible, for in this consists the whole". Each phrase of text must be kept whole in its setting, not chopped about, and the quantities must be observed - no long notes to short syllables. Above all, each phrase of text must be set to its own clearly identifiable contrapuntal subject and to no other: "if they are the same words, by necessary appropriateness it is essential that they should also still be the same notes" - although these may of course be reiterated at different pitch levels. The only exceptions to this rule are when one voice is used as a *cantus firmus*, or where, to express some particular image in the text, contrasting figures are used in different voices for that phrase of text.

Cenci's rules do not really allow for devices such as melodic inversion, augmentation or diminution, since these might affect the suitability of the subject to the expression of the text. It is interesting to see how Cenci deals with a text in which many lines have the same opening, "Lunge da voi":[76] he tends to modify phrases after their distinctive head-motif, and in this instance also uses an inversion of his opening motif in the bass against the two sopranos, as the concept of distance can be equally well expressed by octave leaps in either direction.

This is not simply an eccentric set of ideas being put forward by one individual. Cenci naturally tries to follow his own rules: but the same principles are also clearly evident in the earlier works by Michelangelo

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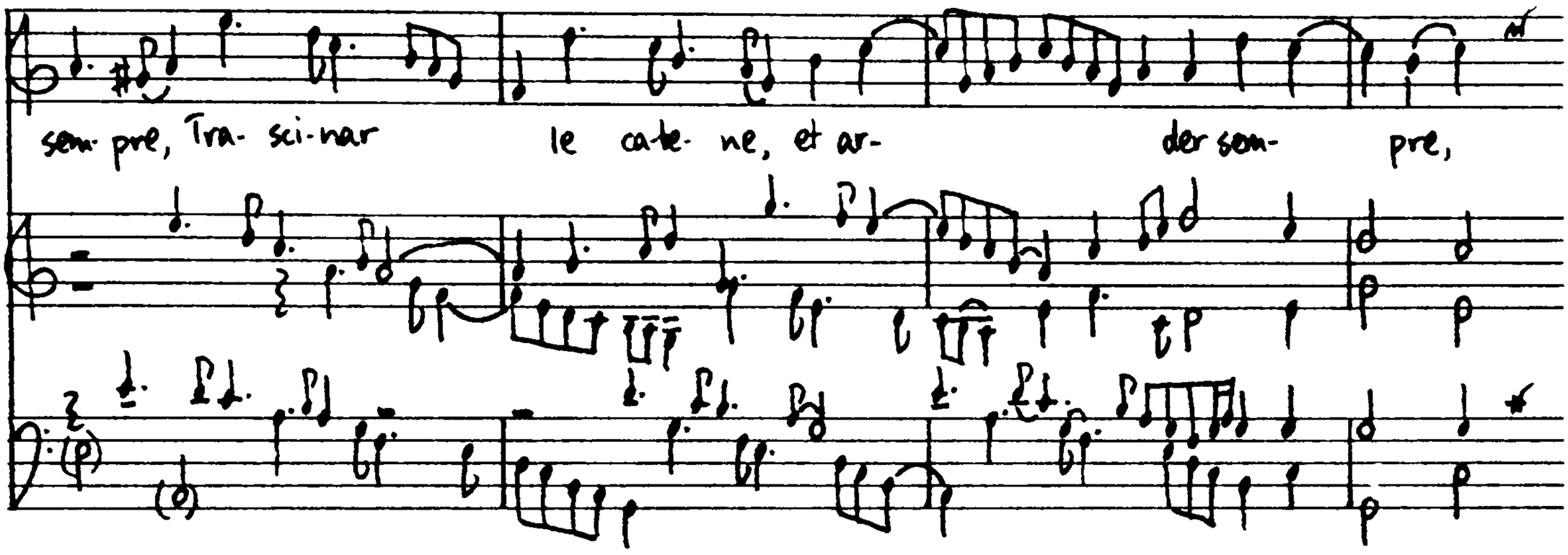
76. see Appendix E, 2: 102-5.

Rossi, Domenico Mazzocchi, and Gino Angelo Capponi described above. Not all of their compositions accord with Cenci's statement that to create good counterpoint it is necessary to combine several phrases of music and text: an outstanding example of Mazzocchi's monothematic counterpoint is the phrase "trascinar le catene" ("drag my chains") from his seventh madrigal, "O se poteste mai":



- although Mazzocchi then resets this line to a different motif, a practice of which Cenci disapproves.

Domenico dal Pane's madrigals of 1652 (NV684) were apparently written in Vienna, as may be gathered not only from the wording of the dedication to Ferdinand III but also from the dedication of two individual pieces to the Empress and to the King of Hungary. Unlike the other works of the Vienna circle, however, which were published in Venice, these were printed in Rome and have strong connections with the Roman circle. Dal Pane was a much-admired castrato singer who had starred in several Barberini operas, and if, as seems probable, he performed as a "musico da camera" in Rome as well as in Vienna, he would almost certainly have sung madrigals by the composers discussed above.[77] Dal Pane is much less adventurous than Mazzocchi in his musical ideas, and especially in his scoring: he seldom

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77. Witzenmann in NG, 5: 167-8 discusses dal Pane's career in the 1650s; Murata 1981, 47, 348, includes references to operatic appearances from 1647.

gets away from a five-voice texture, and ignores the possibilities offered by the basso continuo. However, his setting of "Udite lagrimosi" is of considerable harmonic interest,[78] showing a familiarity with the enharmonic tradition: as a singer, dal Pane was probably an exponent of the rising *messa di voce* described by Durante, Mazzocchi and Angelini Bontempi.[79]

Although Urban VIII decreed in 1623 that the *stile antico* motet should continue to be composed and performed,[80] I would strongly dispute Hall's claim that "the basic antiquarianism" of Mazzocchi, Capponi, Cenci, dal Pane and Valentini "can be attributed to the conservative atmosphere fostered by the Roman Church's influence".[81] It is true that moral and spiritual texts appear fairly often in these composers' works, but that has nothing to do with their musical style and in any case is a feature of seventeenth-century secular music throughout Italy. It was certainly not a feature imposed by the Roman cardinals: they patronised a great variety of other kinds of music, some of it to texts of which they should not, strictly speaking, have approved - for example, an opera based on Marino's *L'Adone*, which was on the Index of prohibited books. Music appears, in fact, to have been seen as intrinsically virtuous: it is several times referred to in prefaces as an "honesta ricreatione" - even when, as in Locatello's book of 1628 (NV1516), many of the verses set are decidedly risqué.

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78. see Appendix E, 2: 203-11.
79. see p. 130-2 above.
80. Wolff in NG, 12: 638 "Motet (iii)".
81. Hall 1978, 47.

Other madrigalists associated with Rome.

Several other composers made only sporadic contact with this "Roman tradition". Alessandro Capece moved fairly frequently around southern Italy: during the period from 1624 to 1632, when he was at Tivoli Cathedral, he published two strongly contrasting books, both in Rome (Robletti) in 1625. His third book for five voices, opus 13 (NV481), is published without continuo. These pieces do not attempt the sort of systematic contrapuntal organisation outlined by Cenci: their closest likeness is to contemporary Neapolitan works, although Capece also avoids *consonanze stravaganti* or *durezze e ligature*. His second book, for one to three voices with continuo (NV480), is more like a northern Italian aria-book, consisting largely of strophic pieces, some of them, to texts by Chiabrera, employing dance-rhythms: alongside these, the few madrigals for one or two voices barely make their presence felt.

Antonio Cifra's fifth and sixth books a 5 (Rome: Soldi, 1621, NV573, and 1623, NV574) include continuo but in other respects relate closely to the Neapolitan tradition. Cifra, then *maestro di cappella* at Loreto, dedicates his fifth book to Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua; the sixth, published after his appointment to St. John Lateran, bears a curious dedication written by one of his subordinates, Giovanni Falbo, to Emanuel Filiberto di Savoia, then viceroy of Sicily. Perhaps Cifra was angling for an appointment in his gift, as the dedication appears from its wording to have been made without the viceroy's prior knowledge. Both books have a high concentration of texts connected with Neapolitan composers: in particular, more than half the poems in the fifth book had previously been set by Gesualdo. Unlike Capece, Cifra does appear to pay close

attention to setting each phrase of text to a consistent motif, although the motifs themselves are seldom striking.

Cesare Zoilo's madrigals of 1620 (NV3028) and their Neapolitan reprint of 1627 (NV3029), without continuo, have already been mentioned. The edition of 1620 is dedicated to Paolo Giordano II Orsini, apparently Zoilo's current employer: Zoilo refers to the publication being due to "il reiterato comandamento di V.E....la quale supplico a ricever questo piccolo tributo...con la stessa humanità con la quale si compiacque di ricever mè nell'attual servitio dell'Eccellentissima sua Casa, e persona...".[82] These unambitious madrigals also make a definite effort towards motivic consistency, as shown in the setting of "Ite caldi sospiri".[83]

The anthologies compiled by Fabio Costantini in the early 1620s[84] both bear local dedications and are modest in scope (not least because of their cheap, crowded printing), even though they contain works by such luminaries as Frescobaldi, Francesca Caccini, G.D. Puliaschi, G. Bernardino Nanino and Paolo Quagliati. The pieces appear to have been designed for amateur consumption: they are short and light and make very limited technical demands.

At the latter end of this period, the anthologies of madrigals for three voices and continuo compiled by Florido de Silvestris are more ambitious

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82. see 1: 135: "the reiterated commandment of your Excellency...whom I beg to receive this little tribute...with the same humanity with which you were pleased to receive me into the present service of your most excellent house and person...".
83. Appendix E, 2: 326-30. The existence of a further reprint, Venice 1628, NV3030, may indicate commercial success.
84. *Ghirlandetta amorosa, Arie, Madrigali, e Sonetti...a 1-3* and *L'aurata Cintia armonica, Arie, Madrigali, Dialogi, e Villanelle...a 1-4* (Orvieto: Fei & Ruuli, 1621 and 1622; OV1621.1 and 1622.1).

and of much greater quality and interest.[85] These anthologies are a striking demonstration of the lack of clear demarcation between genres: the works are labelled "madrigal", whereas if we found them, unlabelled, in manuscript we would now automatically term them "cantatas". Virgilio Mazzocchi's "Che non miri" and Galeazzo Sabbatini's "Ho perso il mio core" are perhaps better designated as arias: while both are through-composed, the use of triple metre throughout does not permit the flexibility of declamation normally required of the madrigal. Virgilio Mazzocchi's "Sospirate bellezze" combines madrigalian recitatives with *arioso* sections, while Carpani's "Piansi lunga stagion" fulfils the normal definition of the madrigal.[86] These works have adopted many features from the Venetian madrigal-books: the distinctive motif usually employed for each line has become a simple matter of declamation and sporadic imitation, rather than a theme serving as the basis for complex counterpoint.

This is the sort of development which della Valle outlines in speaking of changes in the style of madrigal writing. Although he comments, with reference to both Mazzocchis, that "oggi ancora ci è chi sa fare madrigali e chi sa praticar quanto vuole quella manierona grande di artifizi che V.S. [Lelio Guidiccioni] tanto predica...",[87] he cites composers as diverse as Gesualdo, Monteverdi, Peri, Quagliati and Tarditi as examples of a more general trend away from contrapuntal elaboration. He notes in particular the use of short bursts of imitation rather than fugal development, and the frequent insertion of rests and pauses, which allow one part to make way for another:

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85. *Florido concento...* parts 1 and 2, Roma: Mascardi, 1652, 1653; OV1652.1 and 1653.1: see the description of these publications in Chapter 3, p. @@.
86. see Appendix E, 2: 169-73, 255-61 and 94-101.
87. Solerti 1903, 171: "there are still today people who can compose madrigals and people who can practice as much as you wish that grand manner of artifices which your lordship extols so much".

I maestri dell'età nostra non fanno così [he had been discussing Palestrina], ma con più giudizio, non si curando di ostentare in ogni luogo gli artifizi che pure sanno, quando si canta a più voci, più tosto che le odiose braccherie, usano certi dolcissimi concertini, che così li chiamano; le fughe le usano parcamente in pochi luoghi, ma che siano molto a proposito e per lo più assai brevi; nè fanno caso che paiano troppo facili, purchè non confondano le parole, nè il loro senso: le interrompono bene spesso con pause, acciocchè le parti si diano tempo l'una all'altra, e ciascuna di esse spicchi bene le sue parole; più delle fughe usano le imitazioni, con le quali forse si può scherzare con più leggiadria, essendovi maggior campo da metterle in opera sopra ogni nota: più che negli artifizi sottili premono negli affetti, nelle grazie e nella viva espressione de' sensi di quello che si canta; che è quello che veramente rapisce e fa da dovero andare in estasi....[88]

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88. Solerti 1903, 152-154: "the masters of our age do not do thus, but with more judgement, not caring to show off in every place the artifices which they do know, when there are several people singing, rather than odious tittle-tattle, they use certain sweet "concertini", as they call them: they use fugues sparingly in few places, where they are most apt and for the most part very short; nor are they concerned that they might appear too easy, so long as they do not confuse the words, or their meaning; more than fugues they use imitations, with which perhaps they can play with more grace, as there is greater scope for employing them on any note; rather than subtle artifices they emphasise the affections, the graces and the lively expression of the meanings of what is sung; which is what really makes one go into ecstasies...".

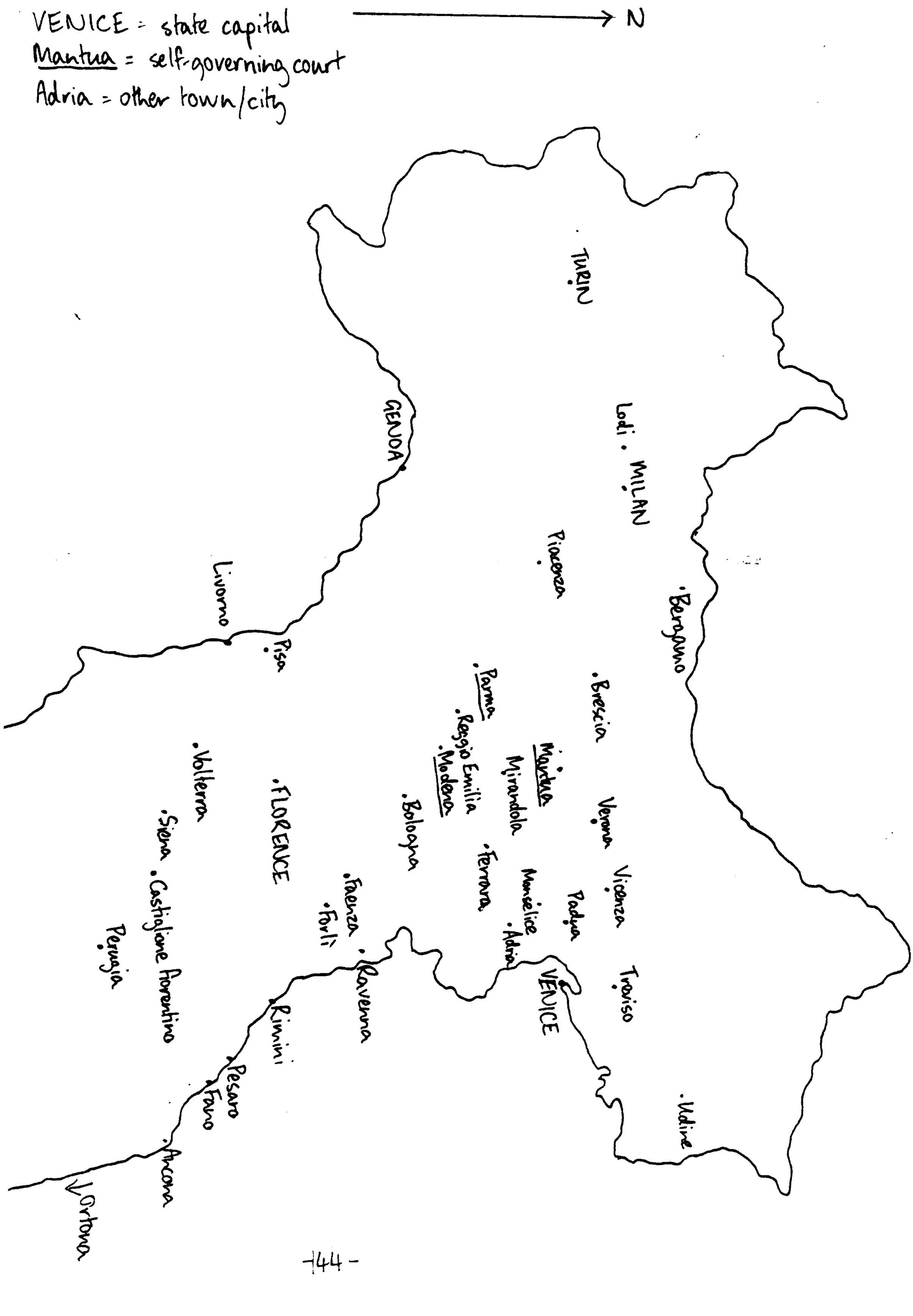
Haar, 1971, elucidates Zarlino's definitions of "fugue" and "imitation": in a fugue the other parts copy the exact sequence of intervals (tones and semitones) of the subject, while in imitation these can be allowed slight alteration. Both fugue and imitation may be either "legata", strictly carried out through a whole section of music, or "sciolta", broken off at will (228-9). While the fourth, fifth and octave are generally the most appropriate intervals for fugal entries, imitation can take place at any interval, including those normally associated with fugue (230). Haar also describes the terminology introduced by Zacconi in his *Prattica musica*, 1622:

> ...*fuga naturale* is used for Zarlino's *fuga*, the later seventeenth century's *fuga reale*; *fuga accidentale* is defined as inexact imitation, but the example shows that Zacconi is thinking of tonal answers. And in mentioning *fuga legata* and *fuga sciolta* as defined by Tigrini, Zacconi says that practicing *[sic]* musicians now call the first canon, the second imitation....Finally, Zacconi extends the meaning of *imitatione* to include sequential repetitions within a single voice. (239)

Della Valle's usage of these terms appears to derive primarily from Zarlino, but the implications of his statements about the reduction in the use of fugue can perhaps be better understood in the light of Zacconi's comments on more modern usage.

MAP 4: NORTHERN ITALY

VENICE = state capital
<u>Mantua</u> = self-governing court
Adria = other town/city



CHAPTER 7: MINOR CENTRES OF MADRIGAL PRODUCTION

The madrigal production of much of central and northern Italy is characterised in this period by a lack of the powerful and influential patrons, especially from the ruling houses, who were so important to the madrigal in the sixteenth century. Instead, most patrons of the madrigal in this period are less elevated members of the composers' local communities: thus, while we often know little about them as individuals, we can see how geography, local allegiances and local cultural activities, such as academies, influence these madrigal-books. For this reason this chapter has been organised by provinces and major transport routes.

Tuscany.

Florence and the rest of Tuscany remained closely in touch with cultural life in Rome - this was entirely natural given the presence of a Florentine pope, Urban VIII. The Medici court appears to have shared some of the Roman interest in chromatic and enharmonic keyboard instruments, especially organs.[1] In the middle of the century the Medici also maintained a thriving establishment of musicians: five female singers, three castrati, three tenors, bass, five players of plucked strings, one keyboard player, six players of bowed strings and eight wind players.[2] Unlike the Roman cardinals, however, the Medici do not appear to have patronised the madrigal after 1620, at least in the sense of promoting new compositions. The Tuscan madrigal tended to be linked instead with local academies.

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1. Hammond 1975, 205, 209, cites references to "due Organi doppii inarmonici, e diatonici, con due tastature di legno..." (1640) and to an organ "di cipresso, gromatico *[sic]*, con tastatura doppia...fatto da Francesco Palmieri..." (1654).
2. Hammond 1974.

The Florentine academy of chief importance in the cultivation of the madrigal, the Accademia degli Elevati, is no longer traceable after 1626 and may have been effectively defunct by 1617.[3] One of its most notable features was that each candidate for entry had to submit two madrigals: only composers who were already well-known were exempt. The academy held weekly concerts of madrigals, and served as a forum where professional composers and dilettanti could meet.[4] Among its members were Giovanni del Turco and Marco da Gagliano: neither was very active as a madrigalist after 1620, but a madrigal by del Turco is included in Filippo Vitali's second book in 1623 (NV2944), and one by Gagliano appears in Vitali's third book of 1629 (NV2945).

Another Florentine academy, the Rugginosi, employed salaried masters "d'Armi, di Salto, di Cavalcare, di Matematica, e simili...", and although it remains unclear whether music is included under the "e simili", at least two composers received commissions from the academy.[5] Marco da Gagliano was engaged to compose the music for their "feast of arms and dancing" of Carnival 1623, *Le fonti d'Ardenna*.[6] In the same year, Filippo Vitali styles himself "maestro della musica nell'Accademia de Rugginosi" in his second book for five voices (NV2944), which he dedicates both to the academy's patron, Cardinal Carlo de Medici, and to its "prince", Roberto Capponi.[7] The inclusion in this book of pieces by Giovanni del Turco and Muzio Effrem raises the possibility that the Rugginosi had effectively taken over some, at least, of the musical functions of the Elevati -

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3. Strainchamps 1976, 530-31.
4. ibid., 514-516.
5. Accademia dei Rugginosi 1623, Bv: "of arms, of jumping, of riding, of mathematics, and suchlike...".
6. ibid., B2.
7. Vitali also dedicated his *intermedi* of 1623, written for another academy, the Incostanti, to Capponi.

although on a different social basis, with the non-aristocratic musicians being hired servants rather than full members.[8a]

Vitali is the only Tuscan composer of this period to produce more than one book of madrigals. The different rates of survival of his three madrigal-books may correspond to the place of publication and the inclusion or exclusion of continuo, rather than being entirely accidental. Only one partbook of his second book a 5 (Florence: Cecconcelli, 1623, NV2944) survives, as compared with three partbooks of his third (Venice: Magni, 1629, NV2945) and two complete and two partial sets of the *Concerto* a 1-6 with continuo, also issued by Magni in 1629 (NV2941).[8b]

The third book for five voices (NV2945) has a rather fulsome dedication to Alberto del Vivaio, dated from Florence: Vitali substantiates his reference to "la musica di che V.S. ha cognicion si perfetta; come fanno fede tant'opere da lei composte; e una delle meno pregiate doti che in lei si trovano..." by including a madrigal by del Vivaio,[9] while the coat of arms on the title-page and the exaggeratedly small print of the composer's signature go to magnify the dedicatee's prestige.

The *Concerto* (NV2941) survives with at least two distinct title-pages and dedications.[10] The dedication of the *GB-Och* copy to a presumed

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8a. Effrem is probably best known for his *Censure*, published in 1623, a diatribe criticising Marco da Gagliano's last madrigal-book of 1617 (see Vogel 1889 for a transcription of much of the *Censure* and the open letter from da Gagliano which prompted its publication). Strainchamps in NG 7: 81-87, "Gagliano", comments:

> Effrem pointed out errors in part-writing, incorrect cadences and breaking of the modes and accused Gagliano of confusing the madrigal with the canzonetta. From the standpoint of a conservative these accusations were, for the most part, just, but from that of a modernist they were entirely inappropriate and misguided. (84)

In 1626 Effrem arranged the posthumous publication of Gesualdo's first book a 6 in Naples.

8b. Vitali's other works include the "rappresentatione" *L'Aretusa*, dedicated to Cardinal Borghese (Rome: Soldi, 1620) and four books of *arie* and five of *musiche* for various numbers of voices, of which four were published in Rome, two each in Venice and Florence, and one in Orvieto. I have not looked at Pruett's dissertation of 1962, which apparently concentrates on Vitali's sacred music.

9. See Appendix A, no. 115: "music, of which you have such perfect knowledge, as the many works composed by you testify, is one of the less valued gifts which are found in you...".

10. see Appendix D, 2: 70 for full details.

Florentine, Giovanni Romena,

> Non dovevano le presenti Musiche nel palesarsi al publico uscir fuori sotto la protettione d'altri, che della person di V.S. si per havermi ella dato argomento alla maggior parte di esse, si anco per essersi giornalmente essercitate nella sua Casa....E se entriamo poi nelle qualità di V.S. per non offender la sua modestia, voglio lasciar la carica à quei della sua Accademia, che la predicano nuovo Mecenate de Virtuosi...[11]

was negated two months later by a new dedication, found in the *GB-Lbl* copy, to one Giovanni Giorgio Costauti, probably of Genoa.[12] The reasons for this change are still a mystery: perhaps Romena failed to supply the money necessary to sponsor the publication.

The title *Concerto...madrigali et altri generi di canti* is clearly borrowed from Monteverdi's highly successful seventh book of 1619, but Vitali's collection is much less ambitious in scale than Monteverdi's. Although Vitali further imitates Monteverdi's book by including a "lettera amorosa in genere rappresentativo", he does not set any of Monteverdi's texts, which suggests that Vitali wished to borrow some of the commercial success of Monteverdi's title without attracting direct comparison with his compositions. Apart from the *lettera amorosa*, the only "other genre" represented is a *romanesca* for solo voice ("O quante volte in van, cor mio, ti chiamo") which features very elaborate variation and ornamentation. There are still more settings for five voices than duets or trios, and there is only one setting for four and one for six voices. Four of the five-voice madrigals are marked "concertato", which appears to indicate the presence of solo sections and *passaggi*:[13] the remaining pieces are simple, declamatory and short. Butchart notes the similarity

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11. "in revealing themselves to the public, these pieces should not emerge under the protection of anyone other than yourself, both because you gave me the subject-matter for most of them, and also as they were daily played in your household...and if we then start on your qualities, in order not to offend your modesty, I wish to leave that task to those in your Academy, who announce you to be a new Maecenas of artists...".
12. see Appendix A, 2: 9, for further details.
13. see Appendix E, 2: 315-20.

of the musical material in the *Concerto* to that of Vitali's *a cappella* works, although the presence of the basso continuo allows him to expand its treatment.[14]

The other Florentine madrigal-book of this period, Antonio Guelfi's opus 1 of 1631 (NV1307), draws on some long-established features of the local madrigal: it is published locally by Zanobi Pignoni,[15] with the arms of his patron on the title-page, and a dedication which seeks reflected glory from Marco da Gagliano:

> ..De quali [difetti] benche non sian per mancarne, spero...che per essermi stato maestro il Sig. Giov. Battista da Cagliano [sic], non habbia à mancar fra essi qualche participazione di quella luce, che derivata dal Sig. Marco suo fratello...ha recato alla Musica tant'utile, e tanto ornamento...[16]

However, Guelfi's book breaks with the tradition apparent in the five-voice books of Gagliano and Vitali by adding continuo. His title-page links his madrigals instead with the five-voice "concertato" madrigals of Vitali's *Concerto*, as it reads "Madrigali. Da concertarsi con cinquevoci *[sic]* et il Basso continuo per il Clavicembano". The surviving quinto and tenor partbooks show an interesting blend of chromaticism;[17] passagework, especially prominent in "Lilla, qual'hor veggio"; and soloistic declamatory style, as in the opening of "Dico alle muse".[18] The selection of texts shows no marked affinity with any particular region or group of

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14. Butchart 1979, 254; on 256 he comments that the Florentine *a cappella* madrigal had become so compressed that it was in danger of disappearing altogether.
15. due to plague, no music was printed in Venice in 1631.
16. "...although these madrigals do not lack defects, I hope...that as G.B. da Gagliano has been my teacher, I will not lack some share of that light, which, derived from his brother Marco,...has brought so much to music that is useful and decorative..."
17. in "Langue al vostro languir", for example, he inflects an essentially G-Dorian opening with A flat and G flat.
18. Due to the number of incomplete sources, it is impossible to state categorically which scorings Tuscan composers favoured, but Guelfi's preference for SSATB contrasts with the Sienese della Ciaia's consistent use of two tenors throughout his book of 1636.

composers, but there are some unexpected concordances with several composers working north of the Alps, namely Priuli, Giovanni Valentini and Biagio Marini.

While the Florentine madrigal was indeed dying out, apparently thanks to changing social circumstances, the last few madrigal-books produced in Florence show a continuing development in style and by no means merit Strainchamps' tag of "embalmed representations of the deceased organism".[19]

Siena had already suffered something of a social decline in the sixteenth century, when it had been absorbed into Tuscany and had lost its government to Florence: but it proudly maintained its own cultural traditions, especially its academies. Agostino Agazzari styles himself Academico Intronato on the title page of his only vernacular work of this period, *Stille soavi di celeste aurora a 3,4,5* (Venice: Magni, 1620, NV21), which is, however, of limited relevance to this study.[20]

According to Maylender the Intronati and the Filomati (founded c.1580) amalgamated in 1654.[21] Cléder notes that while there is no indication of any musical activity within the Intronati, at the public opening of the Filomati music was played and sung as the audience took their seats.[22]

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19. Strainchamps 1984, 316. A lost book (NV1185) of *madrigaletti* for three voices by Marco Ghirlandi da Castiglione fiorentino (Venice: Magni, 1627) may be either a further indication of willingness to move with the times or as irrelevant as that by Agazzari.
20. He uses the term "madrigaletti" to refer to these pieces: they are simple, diatonic, almost entirely syllabic settings with strong affinities to the villanella, set with *basso seguente*, and the texts are paraphrases of Marian Latin texts, of which he supplies incipits.
21. Maylender 1928-30, 2: 432-4.
22. Cléder 1864, XLV-VIII, LXII-III.

Alessandro della Ciaia's *Madrigali...con basso continuo*, op.1. (Venice: Magni, 1636, NV703) have links with both academies; this suggests that the amalgamation merely formalised an existing overlap in membership and interests. Della Ciaia styles himself Accademico Filomato, while Morrocchi also cites him as a member of the Intronati, whose other composer members included Tommaso Pecci, Annibale Gregori,[23] and Desiderio Pecci.[24] Della Ciaia dedicates his madrigals to Pecci in these words:

> ...Queste mie note, che imparai à formare dalla dotta lingua di V.S.E. tornano hora, quasi Ecchi fortunati, à risonare nelle di lei orecchie...[25]

Further information about Pecci's musical activities is given by Urgurgeri:

> Gloria particolare di lui fu, che tra' gravissimi studi delle leggi si dilettò grandemente della Musica; non solamente quanto per ornamento e sollevamento dell'animo può bastare a un gentiluomo, ma volle saperla e professarla come gran maestro di contrappunto; il che felicemente gli riuscì, onde non è meraviglia se egli nella propria casa tenesse Accademia di nobili giovani che ad esso concorrevano per imparare questa scienza...[26]

It is not clear whether Pecci ran an informal musical academy of his own, or whether his musical activities were associated with the Intronati; both the Intronati and the Filomati were fundamentally literary academies and appear to have done little to cultivate the musical interests of their members. In this context it is worth noting that only two of della Ciaia's texts (both by Marino) were set by other composers: apart from one poem by Guarini and three further pieces by Marino, the madrigals are

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23. Morrocchi 1886, 93, 96-97, 101.
24. Denis Arnold in NG, 14: 323: Pecci's works include the *Arie del Sig. Desiderio Ghiribizzoso intronato* published in Rome in 1626.
25. "these notes of mine, which I learned to form from your most excellent lordship's learned tongue, return now, like fortunate echoes, to resound in your ears..."
26. cited Fumi & Lisini 1880, 73 no. 678: "his particular glory was, that among his gravest legal studies he delighted greatly in music; not only as much might suffice a gentleman for ornament and raising one's spirits, but he wanted to know and practise music like a great master of counterpoint; in which, happily, he succeeded, so it is not surprising if he held in his own house an academy of noble youths who came eagerly to him to learn this science...".

unique settings of unidentified authors. These texts may well have been written by the composer or by other members of the two academies.[27]

A note at the end of this publication states that the madrigals were composed without the basso continuo, which was later added at the requests of friends "che havevano reputata piu plausibile l'Opera, se compariva alla publica luce con la giunta di nuovo concento". It continues ingenuously that della Ciaia added the continuo not only to please "coloro che gli potevano comandare", but also to "nascondere il biasimo dell'imperfettione de quei parti per avventura troppo immaturamente prodotti dalla sua debolezza".[28] Apparently a singer and lutenist, della Ciaia seems to have been in no hurry to publish his music, although Morrocchi refers to many works in manuscript: his two remaining published works appeared over a period of thirty years.[29]

The only madrigal publication to originate elsewhere in Tuscany during this period is Giovanni Ferrari's first book a 2-4 with continuo, opus 2 (Venice: Magni, 1628, NV938). Originally from Pisa, Ferrari had moved down the coast to serve the Grand Duke as *maestro di cappella* in Livorno (Leghorn) Cathedral. The work is dedicated to Niccolò Fabbroni, Treasurer-General of the Order of St. Stephen, itself the creation of the Medici. As well as bearing Fabbroni's arms on the title-page, the publication includes a Latin epigram addressed to Ferrari by a Leghorn lawyer. The dedication includes much flowery language about Fabbroni's generosity but no mention of any interest in music.

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27. see 1: 91-2, for discussion of the text of "Ite dispersi a venti", and Appendix E, 2: 106-10.
28. "friends who thought the work would be more plausible, if it were published with the addition of new instrumentation...those who could command him...to hide the blame of the imperfection of those offspring too early produced by his weakness..."
29. Morrocchi 1886, 101.

"Flowery" is perhaps not the best term to describe the texts set by Ferrari. Only five of them remain unattributed: there are seven by Marino, one each by Guarini, Filippo Alberti, Valerio Belli, Caetano, Nuti and Gatti, and two each by Tommaso Stigliani and Aurelio Botticelli.[30] Ferrari appears to favour poets from southern Italy - Marino and Stigliani from Naples, Botticelli from Palermo - and most of his texts were no more than twenty years old when they were set. There is a pronounced tendency towards the explicit eroticism mentioned in Chapter 4: at least five of the poems contain references to biting. The example in Appendix E, 2: 137-40, "Mordi, mordi ben mio" by Gatti, is perhaps milder than the description of the beloved being bitten by her lap-dog in Botticelli's "Felice animaletto" ("scherzandosi nel petto al collo lasci quasi vermiglie rose in bianca neve")[31] which in turn is a reworking of Marino's subject in "O che piacer pres'io". Since this publication appears with a licence, it confirms the impression that the Venetian censors were not worried by erotic material.

Although the book is scored for two, three and four voices, which would appear to link it with the Venetian fashion, the pieces have a strongly Tuscan character. Little use is made of the continuo to develop solo sections, and the vocal writing is generally syllabic and unornamented. There are only two brief passages of triple time in the book: one of these is in a 12/1 *[sic]* metre, which may indicate unfamiliarity with the conventions used elsewhere. The madrigals make modest but effective use

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30. Ferrari gives the attributions to Botticelli in his book, which implies that he had some personal connection with the poet, especially since one of these texts has not yet been traced to any other source.
31. the lap-dog "playing on her breast leaves on her neck almost red roses on white snow".

of chromaticism.[32] Like those in Vitali's *Concerto*, they are far shorter than most *concertato* madrigals.

Genoa.

In Chapter 6 I referred to a possible Gesualdo cult in Genoa and the effect it may have had on Michelangelo Rossi. A very different view of the madrigal is conveyed in Giovanni Maria Costa's first book a 2-4 of 1640 (Venice: Vincenti, NV644). In dedicating the book to two singers, Filippo Maria and Agostino Pinelli, Costa stresses how much he has learnt from them:

> ...questi Musicali componimenti, quali chiamar potrei anzi parti di ciò che apparai di voi, quando io vi fui Maestro, che di ciò ch'appresi, quando fui scolare....Non v'è chi non sappia quanto in entrambi...risplenda quella [virtù] del ben cantare: ne conservan fresche memorie i Teatri famosi, che si dolcemente risuonarono a i vostri accenti: ne fan fede le Accademie più floride di Musica, che qui in Genova erano frequentate, sol perche lo eran da voi; e quelli altresi famose di Roma, che pur hora hanno in sorte di conoscer voi Signor Agostino, di presenza, ed ammirarvi...[33]

The dedication to musicians who are fellow professionals is an unusual feature, especially outside Venetian circles. Here, the language has a valedictory character: as all the settings either require two tenors or may be adapted to suit them, it seems probable that the two Pinellis were tenors and that these works had been written for them over an extended

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32. the frequent rising chromatic inflections - F to F# etc. - are, however, almost all attributable to misplaced accidentals in the print: these may have originated in the composer's manuscript, as Magni can hardly be described as inexperienced in musical typography.

33. "...these musical compositions, which I could call more the offspring of what I learnt from you, when I was your *maestro*, than of what I learnt when I was a scholar.... There is no-one who does not know how much in both of you...that art of good singing shines out: the famous theatres, who so sweetly resounded to your voices, have fresh memories of it: the most flourishing academies of music here in Genoa, which were frequented, only because you were there, bear witness to it; as do those equally famous in Rome, which even now are lucky enough to know you, Agostino, in person, and admire you..."

period. At the time of publication the composer was at least forty years old, possibly nearer sixty, and was "Maestro della Real Cappella della Serenissima Republica di Genova".[34]

The madrigals show imaginative use of the latest *concertato* techniques, especially in the construction of lively, independent instrumental bass-lines. Costa makes little use of short triple-time sections, but writes two complete pieces in triple metre: "Lusinghiero sospiro" employs a saraband rhythm "alla spagnuola" (not, however, using a repeated bass-pattern), while "Non è sì bello il cielo" achieves considerable variety of declamation within a 3/4 metre. The ornamentation is less lavish than one might expect in a volume dedicated to singers: the emphasis is on line rather than virtuosity, with the longest melisma lasting a semibreve, and most no longer than a minim. The Pinellis may, however, have added some improvised trills or *passaggi* at cadences. The Tuscan tendency to chromaticism has no place here: the only accidentals occur in cadential progressions in a diatonic framework, while the tone of the texts is positive and indeed playful, rarely calling for affective harmonies.

Milan.

Giulio Santo Pietro del Negro was probably living in Milan, his native city, at the time of publication of his *Canti accademici concertati a 2-6* in 1620 (Venice: Vincenti, NV2553),[35] although the inclusion of three dedicatory madrigals by Pietro Petracci, the editor of the *Ghirlanda*

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34. "m.d.c. of the royal chapel of the most serene Republic of Genoa". Timms in NG, 4: 818-9, "Costa ii 3)", gives a tentative birthdate of 1581; Giazotto 1951, 160, gives pre-1598.
35. see Fortune in NG, 13: 95-96.

dell'Aurora, may indicate that del Negro was then in Venice.[36] What academy these "canti accademici" were written for is unknown: perhaps the composer's own informal gatherings, since he makes no further reference to an academy.

Although the set does not survive complete, there are a few interesting points in both texts and music. As will be seen in later chapters, the inclusion of pieces for six voices is almost always a sign of a link with Vienna. Here, in fact, one of the two settings "a 6" is for four voices and two "stromenti acuti", but the Viennese link may nevertheless exist. Not only did the Duchy of Milan have military ties to Austria, but an ancestor of del Negro's dedicatee, Carlo Mercurino Arborio Gattinara, was Chancellor to the Emperor Charles V, and his descendants may have continued this association with the Imperial house.[37] Del Negro uses a wide variety of texts, and his settings are equally varied, from the sobbing descending figures of "Ah troppo sei crudele" to the *arioso* triple-time setting of "Già spiega il raggio" and the bouncing hemiolas and ritornelli of Chiabrera's "Fugge il verno de' dolori". Del Negro's title, "Canti", is a good term for the considerable number of pieces which do not really fit into the category of madrigals. Unlike his contemporaries, who tend to confine the new genres to solo or duet settings while returning automatically to the madrigal when they write for five voices, del Negro employs the newer genres more when writing for larger forces.[38]

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36. the dedication is also signed from Venice, but this may be purely conventional and does not necessarily indicate his presence.
37. see Appendix A, 2: 7.
38. none of the three pieces for five or six voices are madrigals, as against most of the duets and trios.

In contrast to the much-travelled del Negro, Michel'Angelo Grancini (1605-1669) spent all his life in Milan, becoming *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral a few years after the publication of his *Madrigali in concerto a 2-4* of 1646-7 (Milan: Camagno, NV1266).[39] Although all his works were published in Milan, they are not parochial in nature. The dedicatee of the madrigals, to whose "viva protettione" Grancini refers, is Vincenzo Gonzaga (1602-1694), then commander of the Spanish cavalry in the state of Milan. Gonzaga's occupation may have prompted the setting of a number of texts employing warlike motifs, including a canzonetta, "Dalla guerra di Marte", set for four voices, which recalls the texts of Monteverdi's eighth book of 1638 as it urges the warriors to flee Mars and follow Amor. Many of the other texts have amorous thefts or conquests as their theme.

Most of the settings are in madrigal form, although three are entirely in triple metre,[40] and the collection culminates in a setting of street cries, the "Capricio sopra li Arti Milanesi". In his madrigal settings, Grancini often uses rather angular lines: he is over-fond of semiquaver or dotted melismas and of repetitive sequences. The poems identified so far are largely well-known lyrics by Guarini, Rinuccini ("Sfogava con le stelle") and Preti, with five by Marino: there are also two poems by Ludovico Piazzoli which were probably drawn from Giovanni Pasta's madrigal-book, the *Affetti d'Erato* of 1626, where the poet is named.[41]

Ignazio Donati, born near Parma in 1575, spent his working life in a succession of cathedral posts in or near Milan: when his *Fanfalughe a 2-5*

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39. Barblan 1969-70, 14-15: he became *maestro* in 1650.
40. including the through-composed strophes of "Dalla guerra".
41. Fortune in NG, 14: 286: although Pasta had been living in Bergamo in 1626, he had returned to Milan, his home town, in 1634.

(Venice: Vincenti, 1630, NV844) were published he was at Lodi.[42] Like Costa's collection, the *Fanfalughe* are dedicated to a fellow musician, the Augustinian priest and composer Carlo Milanuzzi, then living in Modena:[43] on this occasion, however, the dedication is written and the link provided by the publisher.[44] As in some other prefaces written by third parties, we are given to understand that the composer is so involved with more elevated work that he cannot be bothered with the publication of these trifles: such prefaces appear in secular publications by several ambitious church composers, including Rovetta.

All the settings are through-composed, although the catchy triple-time melon-seller's song, "Meloni meloni", hardly qualifies as a madrigal. Donati also includes a "Canzon: Musica sforzata", whose four sections are intended as a conspectus of musical devices, including on the phrase "stil soave" the paired quavers we have come to associate with Monteverdi's *canto alla francese*.[45] Most of the remaining settings come within the terms of the *concertato* madrigal. Donati is generally faithful to the concept of setting each line to a consistent musical idea. He makes much use of solos or duets in thirds, seldom using all voices at once unless his musical ideas for different lines happen to lie conveniently a third apart. The exception is "Disperato dolore", carefully marked "non concertato", where the five-voice texture is more consistent and the vocal lines much plainer. In many other pieces the continuo has an independent line: it also includes bar-lines and dynamic markings. Of the texts so far identified, all of them madrigals, five are by Gatti and one each by

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42. Roche in NG, 5: 542-3; see also Appendix E, 2: 127-30.
43. Roche in NG, 12: 302-3.
44. Vincenti seems to have been on close terms with Milanuzzi, signing himself "per debito, per merito, e per affettione, servitore, amico e fratello".
45. The title may be a pun on the surname of Milan's former ruling family.

Rinaldi, Macedonio, Campeggi and Mamiano: most of the remainder are unique to Donati, although one, "Vano è'l pensier", was later set by Pesenti.

The Via Emilia: Piacenza to Faenza.

The Via Emilia, built by the Romans, runs straight from Piacenza to the Adriatic coast, going through Parma, Reggio Emilia, Modena, Bologna and Faenza before ending near Pesaro. These cities were therefore blessed with comparatively easy land transport and were linked by a major inland trade route, whereas the only sensible approach to some other cities in the region, such as Mantua, was by water.

Parma and Piacenza were both governed by the young Duke Odoardo Farnese, who received a spate of dedications in the mid-1620s from musicians hoping to secure the commission for his wedding music (which eventually went to Monteverdi): one of these dedications is in Crivelli's madrigal-book of 1626 (NV657). However, we have no evidence that the duke actively supported madrigal composition: none of the three composers from the duchy who published madrigals during his reign appears to have had any connection with his household.

Pietro Maria Lamoretti's first book a 2-4 "con due Madrigali pieni a cinque, et un Balletto a cinque" (Venice: Vincenti, 1621, NV1375) appears to owe something to Piacenza's civic pride: he explains with unusual care his own position at the church of S. Agostino, where he was organist, and that of his dedicatee Publio Petreio Stirpio, who was archdeacon of the city's cathedral, before addressing the reader as follows:

> ..havendo veduto, quanto fossero aggraditi da principali Cavallieri, e Dame di Piacenza questo Carnevale, che ne furono sentiti alcuni, mà

> molto maggiormente per essermene ogni giorno richiesta copia da' miei Patroni, & io non la potendo negare mi metto al pericolo, (che m'è avvenuto) ch'altri si faccia l'ali delle mie piume...[46]

Such references to plagiarism are rare in this period, and these "prime fatiche di giovane inesperto" would seem unlikely to attract thieves.[47] The settings themselves hardly get away from endless quaver declamation in the current cheerful diatonic fashion, apart from the two five-voice madrigals which make a conscious effort at old-fashioned seriousness (indicated on the title page by that curious term, "full" madrigals). The concluding *balletto* is a strophic piece for solo voice and five instruments.

Giacinto Merulo, who lived near Parma,[48] presumably gave his first book of madrigals (Venice: Magni, 1623, NV1837) the title of *Madrigali a quattro in stile moderno* so that his readers would not confuse them with the *stile antico* of Arcadelt.[49] He may also have felt that his reputation as a pupil of his godfather and uncle Claudio was a liability as well as an asset. In fact, these madrigals are far from "modern". There appears to be no continuo (the set survives incomplete); the "canzone" with which the book ends is a simple instrumental canzona; the relentlessly contrapuntal style includes almost no semiquavers and ignores even the most obvious opportunities for display, and there is no use of triple metres. His choice of texts is also uninspired: he draws five from Guarini's *Pastor fido* and adds two well-known madrigals by Marino and Rinaldi, a devotional verse by Grillo, and Petrarch's sonnet "I'vo

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46. "...having seen, how well they were received by the principal knights and ladies of Piacenza this carnival, where a few of them were heard, but much more as every day I was asked by my patrons for a copy, and not being able to deny them I take the risk (as has happened to me) that someone else might make their wings from my feathers..."
47. "first efforts of an inexperienced youth".
48. Pelicelli 1933, 36.
49. "madrigals for four voices in modern style".

piangendo i miei passati tempi": the remaining lyrics are all unique to Merulo, generally discursive in style and - for want of a better word - old-fashioned.[50]

G.B. Chinelli's first book a 2-4, his only madrigals, were published in 1637 (Venice: Vincenti, NV559), shortly after he moved to Venice for what appears to have been a fifteen-year leave of absence from his post as *maestro di cappella* at Parma cathedral.[51] The dedication is to the British ambassador to Venice, Viscount Basil Feilding. Unfortunately only the bass voice and basso continuo partbooks for this publication survive: they show a lively set of works comprising madrigals, a canzonetta, a triple-time aria for three voices and violins, and a concluding madrigal with violins. In them he employs walking basses, triple-time sections, *passaggi*, frequent alternations of soli and tutti, and contrasting dynamics (piano, forte) and tempi ("adasio" and allegro).

At least two madrigalists were working in the neighbourhood of Reggio Emilia. Giovanni Bernardo Colombi had published a first book a 5 in 1603: when his madrigals a 2-4 op. 4 (NV596) were published by Vincenti in 1621, he was organist and *maestro di cappella* at Novellara, a Mantuan possession near Reggio. In his dedication to Giulio Gentili, a canon at Mantua cathedral, he describes himself as an old man without further ambitions:

> ...piccioli componimenti più tosto per corrispondenza d'obligo, che per ambitione di gloria da me composti...co'l latte della memoria li

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50. The dedication of this book to Duke Ferdinand Gonzaga of Mantua may indicate that Merulo wished to enter his employment, not that the Duke actually sponsored the publication.
51. Pelicelli 1933, 37.

> nudrisca acciò nell'età più matura mi siano scorta alla sua buona gratia...[52]

Although Colombi had moved with the times to the extent of publishing a book for the new combination of forces, his work remains rather staid in appearance, with no triple-time sections or *passaggi* and many long note-values: neither, however, is there much genuine polyphony, as the voices chug away in thirds or sixths.[53] Colombi sets a variety of texts, including some of Marino's most striking madrigals: among the few other identified texts is one by Grillo which was taken up by Giacinto Merulo two years later.

Antonio Rinoldi, from Milan, was organist at the "insigne collegiata" of San Martino in Rio, a few miles from Reggio, when his first book a 2-4 op. 1 (NV2352), was published by Vincenti in 1627. In dedicating the work to Don Carlo Filiberto d'Este, Rinoldi spells out the nature of the patronage he has received:

> I frutti de gli Alberi da me coltivati in questa insigne Collegiata di V.E. di cui già si degnò di farmi Organista, hora mi persuadono a fargliene libero dono, con dedicargliele, come primitie a lei dovute...[54]

Although the work is now lost, it is worth noting that of ten text incipits recorded, at least seven (possibly nine) are of poems from the *Ghirlanda dell'Aurora* anthology.[55] Four of these had not previously been set to music.

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52. "little pieces composed by me more to meet my obligations, than for ambition for glory...may they be nourished with the milk of memory so that at a more mature age they may be an escort to your good grace..."
53. I examined this book in Einstein's transcription, vol. 13.
54. "the fruits of the trees cultivated by me in this famous college of yours of which you deigned to make me organist, now persuade me to make you a free gift of them, by dedicating them to you, as first fruits owed to you..."
55. Petracci (ed.) 1609: of these, only two also appear in [Fiamma] (ed.) 1611.

The compositional activities within the Este court at Modena are not easy to trace, although some interesting correspondence has recently emerged which records commissions for several madrigals and canzonettas from Monteverdi;[55] a reference from Monteverdi commending Francesco Turini as a possible composer and organist; and some purchases of music. In 1621 the court bought Monteverdi's complete madrigals to date and also *Orfeo* and the *Scherzi*, madrigals by Zoilo, Nenna, Vecchi, Pallavicino, Giovanelli, Gagliano and d'India, and aria-books by Caccini, d'India and Rasi.[57] The dedication of Turini's second book a 2-4 of 1624 (NV2772) to Alfonso III d'Este suggests that Monteverdi's reference formed part of a serious campaign by Turini to enter employment at Modena.

The only madrigals to come out of Modena in this period appear to be the seventh and eighth books by Sigismondo d'India, both published in Rome in 1624 (NV830-1) under the auspices of Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia, the brother of d'India's patroness at Modena. The dedication of the eighth book to Isabella di Savoia speaks of these madrigals as "nate nella Casa d'Este" and written for their consort "de' migliori cantanti, ch'hoggi possa ascoltar l'Europa".[58] From the list of acquisitions referred to above, it would appear that the court was buying music dating, in some cases, from the turn of the century, rather than cultivating new compositions. It is also possible that the ethos of the late sixteenth-century "secret" activities at the courts of the Po Valley had survived longest in Modena, and that composers were thus prevented from publishing their new music whilst employed there. Although d'India returned to

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56. the relevant pieces, if they survive, have yet to be conclusively identified: see the discussion of the eighth book, 1: 238-50.
57. Fabbri 1980, 74-77.
58. "born in the Este household...the best singers, which Europe can listen to today". The modern edition of book 8, 1980, adds some transcriptions from book 7: "Ite sospiri ardenti", however, does not have the concordances listed there.

Modena in 1626 and composed music for Isabella's funeral in that year, her death was a severe blow to the musical activity of the court: her husband Alfonso became a recluse for several years after her death, then abdicated in order to enter a Capuchin monastery in 1629.[59] Although his heir, Francesco I (1629-1658), was occupied largely by diplomatic efforts to regain Ferrara and with the building of the ducal palace, begun in 1635, Michelangelo Rossi found it worthwhile to move to Modena in 1634,[60] and the court continued to attract some gifted singers and violinists.[61]

The city of Bologna is justifiably closely associated with the Olivetan monk Adriano Banchieri, who remained in the city from 1610 until his death in 1634.[62] He continued to publish prolifically until shortly before his death - three volumes of secular music appeared between 1620 and 1630 - but these publications are made up largely of revisions and rearrangements of earlier work. His *Trattenimenti da villa* of 1630 (Venice: Vincenti, NV236), for example, consists of twelve five-voice settings from his *Zabaione musicale* (Milan: Tini & Lomazzo, 1603-4, NV237), with the addition of another eight pieces for one to four voices, of which one (the duet "Treccie ombrose") is taken from his previous volume of 1626 (NV216), and another is a canzonetta by Ghizzolo. Where the *Trattenimenti* set differs from his two volumes of the 1620s (NV215-6) is in its organisation as an evening's entertainment: it intersperses madrigals with masquerades (such as "Ninfe leggiadre, siamo pignattari") and five-voice pieces with settings for smaller forces. In other words, this collection recalls his earlier madrigal-comedies, which were still

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59. Litta 1819-1923, tav.16.
60. see 1: 118-9.
61. Surian in NG, 12: 450-51 "Modena".
62. see Mischiati 1971 for biography and work-list.

popular enough to merit reprints.[63] That the *Trattenimenti* set appears without dedication, and with the publisher's device rather than Banchieri's academic device, suggests that the book was regarded as a safe commercial proposition.

In the *Vivezze di Flora e Primavera* for five voices and continuo (Venice: Magni, 1622, NV215)[64] Banchieri again uses the term "trattenimento" in his dedication to Cardinal Borghese. While the five-voice settings might well please a Roman connoisseur, Banchieri continues, in madrigal-comedy fashion, to add explanatory captions to each piece: for example, "Ecco la primavera" has the rather redundant annotation "Anuntio di primavera concertato". Nearly all the pieces in the *Virtuoso ritrovo academico, concerti musicali a 1.2.3.4.5* (Venice: Magni, 1626, NV216) are duets or instrumental works, such as the several pieces based on the *aria del Gran Duca*. Besides the non-madrigal forms such as *romanesca* and canzonetta, several madrigal settings are distinguished as "scherzo" or "bizaria". The concluding madrigal for five voices is a version of one of the *Vivezze di Flora* (NV215), and Banchieri notes here that it does not require continuo.

All this activity took place in the context of the local musical academies, in which Banchieri played a vital role and to which there are frequent references in his works: the Floridi, established in 1615, and the Filomusi, which replaced it in 1623.[65] It is difficult to say whether the visit paid by Monteverdi to the Floridi in 1620 was to the academy

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63. *Pazzia senile* in 1621, *Saviezza giovenile* in 1628, *Barca di Venetia per Padova* in 1623, with added continuo.
64. see also the modern ed., Banchieri 1971.
65. Mischiati 1971, 44-45.

itself or to Banchieri, its "capo de concerti".[66] Banchieri certainly attracted his own visitors: he uses the dedication of the *Virtuoso ritrovo* (NV216) to reply to a letter received that day from G.B. Grimani which asked for some of his compositions, adding: "Ho sentito gran mortificatione quando nel di lei passaggio favori il nostro Monasterio, non potessi scoprire quel desiderio ch'ella tiene di conoscermi di presenza".[67]

Riniero Scarselli refers to himself as "Accademico Filomuso" on the title page of his first book a 2-4 of 1640 (Venice: Vincenti, NV2585)[68] but this may be a past honour rather than a present reality. Domenico Brunetti, *maestro di cappella* at San Domenico, founded an Accademia dei Filaschisi in 1633,[69] which may indicate that the Filomusi had ceased to function even before Banchieri's death: the Filaschisi formed part of the Accademia Filarmonica when the latter was established in 1666. Madrigals by Brunetti are included in Anselmi's collection of 1624 (OV1624.2), and Biandrà includes a reply to one of his madrigals in his op. 2 of 1626 (NV363).

When his madrigals were published,[70] Giovanni Pietro Biandrà "romano" was *maestro di cappella* at Faenza Cathedral and "il Zelante" in its Accademia delli Spennati: the books are dedicated to the Accademici Spennati and to

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66. Mischiati 1971, 44; Fabbri 1985, 256-57 notes that in 1625-26 Monteverdi and Facchi were the two non-Bolognese members of the Filomusi: he quotes a source in Bolognese dialect which states that all members of the academy were composers, and that they performed "concerti" for one and more voices with instruments.
67. "I felt very mortified that when you favoured our monastery during your journey, I could not find out that you desired to make my acquaintance in person."
68. only the bass partbook now survives.
69. Fortune and Roche in NG, 3: 387.
70. Madrigaletti a 1-3 op. 1 (NV362), Madrigali a 4-5 op. 2 (NV363) both Venice: Magni, 1626; Robert Martin's catalogue also lists a third book a 2-5 of 1633, now lost.

their "prince", Giulio Paci. The dedication of NV362 calls the members of the academy "patroni osservandissimi" and refers to his obligations to them, which sounds as if he was paid to supply the academy with music: NV363 sheds more light on the activities of the "Spennati Musici di Faenza" in a note in the continuo part:

> Li tre madrigali, sopra li quali è scritto resposta al Signor etc. devono sapere, che sono resposte ad altri tanti Madrigali delli sudetti SS. compositori li quali hanno favorito li SS. Accademici Spennati, alli quali si è dato resposta sempre con le sue medesime parole e sogetti, a quello del Signor Brunetto si è voltato il primo soggetto solo, a quello del Signor Donati si sono rivoltati quasi tutti li soggetti, et a quello del Signor Peracini si è voltato tutto, tal che sentiranno diverse maniere per essersi tenuto la sua istessa maniera...

This appears to indicate links with Bologna and further afield.[71]

Biandrà's understanding of the term "madrigaletti" (NV362) appears similar to Agazzari's: these pieces, which appear in score in a typical aria-book format, all have spiritual texts, and most employ syllabic, homophonic writing or simple imitation. But Biandrà lets himself go at some points with semiquaver or even demisemiquaver *passaggi*, especially in pieces for solo voice, and he generally brings a wider range of musical techniques and devices to bear on these essentially simple pieces.[72]

Of Damiano Olmi's *Madrigali spirituali a 2-3* (Venice: Vincenti, 1641, NV2053) only the continuo part survives: it shows tempo markings,

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71. "You should know that the three madrigals, over which is written 'reply to Mr. etc.', are replies to as many madrigals by the above-mentioned composers who have favoured the members of the Accademia dei Spennati, which have been replied to always with their own words and subjects: to that by Brunetto the first subject only has been turned, to that by Donati almost all the subjects have been turned back, and to that by Peracini all has been turned back, so that different ways of keeping to the same manner can be heard...". I have been unable to find any further mention of Peracini.

72. I have not examined NV363: it draws on Guarini's *Pastor fido* for nearly all its texts, including a setting of the "Gioco della Cieca" in nine sections.

figuring of dissonances and chromatic movement, syncopations and ties across the bar-line. Most pieces also finish with repeat markings for the last section - a common feature in lighter forms in the sixteenth century but rare in the "serious" madrigal. Olmi does not seem to have been involved with any academies in Faenza (which suggests that the Spennati may have died out): in dedicating the work to the abbot of his church, S. Maria delli Angeli, Olmi states that "senza i di lei incentivi [questi madrigali] non havrebbero havuto l'essere".[73]

The career of the priest Cristofano Piochi (died after 1675) took him to Rome, Amelia (Umbria), Faenza, Orvieto, and Siena:[74] his first book of madrigals "with a few arias at the end..." (Venice: Vincenti, 1626, NV2230) is dedicated to Roberto Cennin, governor of Faenza: Piochi was employed for many years by Roberto's brother, Cardinal "Marcello" [*recte* Francesco?] Cennin, probably as a general servant-companion more than a musician.[75] The four "arias" referred to on the title-page are all for four voices, and include two settings of Tasso over strophic basses: there is also an extended dialogue for three voices. The remaining works are all madrigals in fairly simple settings, with only isolated instances of *passaggi* or chromaticism; no triple metre at all is used in the book.

The Adriatic coast.

The Via Emilia reaches the coast near Rimini, where Vincenzo Sabbatini

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73. "without your incentives, these madrigals would not have come into being."
74. Fortune in NG, 14: 760-1.
75. Morrocchi 1886, 101, describes Piochi as: "prete di Buonconvento. Servì lungamente Francesco Cennini Cardinale e fu poi Maestro di Casa dell'Arcivescovo di Siena Ascanio Piccolomini...".

published his first book a 2-4 in 1629 (Venice: Magni, NV2522), dedicating it to the papal governor of the city. I have not been able to examine this collection: the choice of texts looks very like that found in Venetian madrigal-books of the period.[76]

We have already noted the presence of Francesco Pasquali at Ancona and Ambrosio Cremonese at Ortona, further down the Adriatic coast. Ortona was within the Kingdom of Naples, but Cremonese's first book a 2-6 (Venice: Magni, 1636, NV654) can be reconciled much more easily with the Venetian style, despite its dedication to a Neapolitan nobleman.[77] Cremonese tends to divide his phrases between different voices or groups of voices, and prefers long sequences of *passaggi* to frequent repetitions of text: his voices move homophonically in bursts of syllabic declamation and then expand into florid passages for solo voice or two voices in thirds or sixths. Counterpoint is hardly in evidence in these easy and attractive works. His one piece for six voices is much less florid than the rest.[78]

At least one academy was flourishing on the coast, to judge from the two madrigal-books by the as yet unidentified Bizzarro Accademico Capriccioso of Fano, near Pesaro. Massimillo Fredutii, the dedicatee of the first volume of *Trastulli estivi a 2-4* (Venice: Vincenti, 1620, NV371), was Bizzarro's teacher and *maestro di cappella* at Fano cathedral. Fredutii was also the "moderator" of the Capricciosi, who met in the house of

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76. It is tempting to try to link Vincenzo with Galeazzo Sabbatini of Pesaro, whose work will be discussed in Chapter 8, but this would be rash, as Sabbatini was a very common name in the area - personal communication from Vladimir Ivanoff.
77. Ottavio Acquaviva: Cremonese had been employed by the dedicatee's brother, the Duke of Atri, a small town near Ortona.
78. no Viennese connection is apparent here.

Pietro Petrucci, the dedicatee of the second volume of 1621 (NV372). The title "Trastulli estivi" is taken from one of Marino's most notorious canzoni, but no part of the canzone is used here as a text: the title appears intended purely to attract the attention of prospective purchasers. Bizzarro states emphatically that he is an amateur, composing "più per accidente, che per talento, più per capriccio, che per istudio, più per provare che per fare il Compositore..." (NV371).[79] His choice of texts is up-to-date, and in several instances, notably that of Mamiano's poem, "Vanne mesto sospir",[80] he may have stimulated further settings by other composers. Bizzarro appears either unwilling or unable to expend effort on settings of any complexity, and all the pieces are for two or three voices: those titled "a 4" turn out to be dialogues for two voices with violins.

The Po valley.

Mantua appears to have had a special relationship with Vienna and there are strong musical links between the two; for this reason, discussion of Mantua will be reserved for Chapter 10. The other two cities lying south of the Po but somewhat apart from the main lines of communication along the coast and the Via Emilia are Ravenna and Ferrara.

Giovanni Ghizzolo spent four years in Ravenna as *maestro di cappella* to Cardinal Luigi Capponi before moving on to Padua in 1622,[81] a period which included the publication of his third book a 5 "in parte anco concertati co'l Clavicembalo" (Venice: Vincenti, 1621, NV1190) of which

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79. "more by accident,than by aptitude, more for a whim, than for a study, more to try than to be a composer..."
80. discussed above, 1: 87-91; Appendix E, 2: 80-2.
81. Roche in NG, 7: 343.

only the continuo partbook now survives. All the texts can now be attributed: five selections from Guarini's *Pastor fido* (most in several sections), three Guarini madrigals, four lyrics by Cesare Rinaldi (one sonnet, three madrigals), two madrigals by Ansaldo Cebà, and an ottava by Tasso set to a *romanesca* pattern. Ghizzolo's interest in setting well-known dramatic texts as an extended sequence of madrigals may have influenced Francesco Eredi, who spent all his life in Ravenna,[82] in the choice of text for his opus 3, *L'Armida del Tasso posta in musica a cinque voci col suo Basso di sonare* (Venice: Vincenti, 1629, NV890), which sets two chunks of the *Gerusalemme liberata* of nine and ten octaves respectively.[83] Eredi makes effective use of the continuo to support dramatic characterisation, for example equating the Canto with the speaker, Armida, in "Vatene pur, crudel".[84] It is strange to see composers in Ravenna still writing entirely for five voices when this scoring had apparently fallen from favour elsewhere in the area.

Ferrara's Accademia degli Intrepidi, founded in 1600, flourished throughout the seventeenth century, and included instruction in music among its activities.[85] It received the dedication of Grandi's madrigal-book of 1615 (see below, 198). Both the madrigal-books that survive by

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82. unsigned in NG, 6: 226-7.
83. finishing with an irrelevant musical skit, "Vorrei di semituoni, di fà finti spostati à la bizarra, B duri e proportioni...".
84. see Appendix E, 2: 131-6: his Canto line is closely related to that used by Monteverdi in his setting of the text (book 3, reprinted in Venice in 1621): Eredi, however, exploits the continuo to create a greater separation between the Canto and the other voices.
85. Maylender 1928-30, 3: 343: "ed onde addestrarvi se stessi ed i propri figluoli tenevano, a stipendio fisso, stabili maestri di musica, ballo, scherma e professori di lettere e di materie militari" - this may, however, only refer to the later part of the century, as the earlier records were lost in a fire in 1679.

Ferrarese composers also accord with the "Venetian" style of writing for two to four voices (with the duets in the majority) established by Grandi.[86]

The dedication of G.B. Crivelli's first book a 2-4 (Venice: Vincenti, 1626, NV657) to the Duke of Parma and Piacenza has already been mentioned. Crivelli was born near Modena and at various times was active at Reggio Emilia, Ferrara (from before 1626 to 1635), Milan and Bergamo. Crivelli makes little or no use of *passaggi*, but prefers largely syllabic settings with some slurred pairs of quavers. One notable feature is a tendency to establish a head-motif at the opening of each piece and then re-use it for the beginnings of other lines of text, indicating an interest in musical structure rather than in word-painting. These works were reprinted in 1633 without a dedication (NV658), and so it would seem that they were commercially successful: however, Crivelli did not follow up this success with any more madrigals.[87]

Conclusion.

From such a wide range of localities and local circumstances it is not easy to build up a coherent picture, but a few important points do emerge from the above discussion. It will be apparent that the madrigal in this period owed little to the small Italian courts which had played such an important role in its development during the sixteenth century, with the qualified exception of Mantua (discussed in Chapter 10). Their loss of

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86. I have been unable to examine the op. 4 madrigals of Giovanni Ceresini, (Venice: Vincenti, 1627, NV547).
87. see Appendix E, 2: 114-21; his only other published work was a set of *concertato* motets which were also reprinted in 1628.

interest is in many cases connected with the decline of their ruling families and the collapse of some duchies as feuds reverted to the Papal States or the Empire. On the other hand, local academies appear frequently to be linked with the cultivation of the madrigal, even when we have no record that their activities included music. It is also apparent that lines of communication and trade are a factor in the dissemination of style and fashion: towns located on important trading routes seem to favour a Venetian style, whereas places which are more isolated may continue their own traditions.

CHAPTER 8: SOME MORE PROLIFIC COMPOSERS

As we have seen in the preceding chapters, few composers in this period published more than one book of madrigals. This chapter deals with those composers who do not fit readily into the general narrative because they were unusually prolific and, in most cases, active in several locations during their careers.

Biagio Marini, c.1587-1663.

Marini has already attracted considerable scholarly attention, both as a violinist and as a vocal composer.[1] His varied career took him all over northern Italy and abroad, and much of his vocal music was written for the Wittelsbach court at Neuburg. Both his experience as a violinist and his frequent movements as he followed his profession in different centres contribute to the variety of music found in his collections.

The *Arie, madrigali e correnti a 1.2.3.*, op. 3 (Venice: Magni, 1620, NV1713) appear in a folio volume: there are seven strophic pieces, five instrumental dances, several airs where further strophes are not supplied (including one in Venetian dialect) and seven madrigals, only one of them for three voices. At the time of publication Marini was *maestro di cappella* of Santa Eufemia in Brescia and also "Capo della Musica" of the local Accademia degli Erranti. The dedication refers explicitly to payment:

> ...la supplico à gradir questo mio puro, & riverente ossequio, con la

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1. cf. Clark 1966; Fano 1965 and 1973.

> sua Humanissima Generosità, & dispensandomi i favori della sua gratia, riceverò il tributo della mia servitù sincera e riverente....[2]

Two subsequent volumes, op. 7 (NV1716) and op. 9 (NV1717), have caused some confusion among bibliographers and commentators, since their dedications are dated (in Arabic numerals) 1624 and 1625 respectively while their title-pages are dated (in Roman) 1634 and 1635.[3] On inspection it is evident that someone - probably the publisher Magni, since the typeface matches - has simply stamped an extra X into a space left in the original date, turning M. DC. XXIV into M. DC.XXXIV. This doctoring of the title-pages was presumably intended to make unsold works appear recently published, but it is difficult to be categorical when only one copy of each of these prints survives.[4] The dedicatee of op. 9, Johann Friedrich, Duke of Württemberg and Teck, died in 1628, which rules out any lingering thoughts that the later date might be correct. It is curious that these bogus dates all fall within a period where Marini "disappears": we know nothing of his activities between 1628 and 1640, and the three volumes, op. 10-12, which must have been published during this period, are among those that have failed to survive. Neuburg was the scene of fighting during the 1630s and much documentation was lost as a result.[5]

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2. "I beg you to accept this pure and reverent homage of mine, with your most humane generosity, and dispensing to me the favours of your grace, I will receive tribute for my sincere and reverent service..."
3. surprisingly, NV, NG and Clark 1966 use these later dates and comment only on the "curious time-lag between dedication and publication" - Dunn in NG, 11: 685-6.
4. both are at *GB-Och* and presumably form part of the collection acquired through Robert Martin. Clark 1966, 34, notes that the surviving copy of op. 8 [1626] has had its title-page date changed by hand from MDCXXVI to MDCXXVIIII - presumably resorting to adding Is because there was no space in which to insert an additional X.
5. Clark 1966, 4, 42.

Opus 7, grandly titled *Per le musiche di Camera Concerti a quatro 5.6. voci, et instromenti* (Venice: Magni, 1624, NV1716) was written for the Neuburg court and dedicated to Marini's employer, Wolfgang Wilhelm. Marini, however, also vaunts his membership of the Brescian Accademia degli Occulti, whose other members supply four introductory sonnets. The forces called for are large, and accord more with Viennese than with Italian tradition: four pieces call for six voices and six instruments plus continuo, although Marini includes a note to say that "per necessità" the instruments may be reduced to two violins and chitarrone. "O dolcissime voci" omits the instruments, but is similar to these pieces in its large-scale, sectional construction.[6a]

By contrast, op. 9 is an unassuming book of *Madrigaletti a una due tre e quatro voci, con alcune villanelle per cantare nella Chitarilia spagnola...* (Venice: Magni, 1625, NV1717). The solo pieces range from elaborate solo madrigals to villanellas and a "Musica per cantar li Sonetti" with guitar letters - the latter a recitation formula which employs *falsobordone*-type notation similar to that of the opening of Monteverdi's "Sfogava con le stelle".[6b] None of the pieces for more than one voice mention guitar: the rest of the book proceeds along normal lines for a Venetian book a 2-4.[7]

We lack any vocal music Marini may have published between 1625 and 1641, the date of op. 13, the *Compositioni varie per musica di camera...* for two to five voices and violins (Venice: Vincenti, 1641, NV1718): this book is dedicated to the abbot-general of the Olivetan order and includes a spiritual madrigal. By this stage Marini had risen to the state of "Gentil'huomo, et cavagliere del sereniss. Palatino di Noiburg": he had

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6a. see Appendix E, 2: 154-63.

6b. For a description of ecclesiastical *falsobordone* usage, see Murray Bradshaw in NG, 6: 375-6.

7. see Appendix E, 2: 164-8.

apparently made an advantageous second marriage.[8] The book survives incomplete, but shows an increased use of triple-time sections and of the extended forms favoured in Vienna. The spiritual piece, "Hor che Gioanni entra al deserto", is one of the largest in scale; it employs its three voices in solo verses with a triple-time tutti refrain and adds instrumental sinfonias.

By the time of op. 16, the *Concerto terzo delle musiche di camera* (Milan: Camagno, 1649, NV1719), Marini had moved back to Italy after visiting most of Europe during his increasingly well-paid freelance career. The dedication, to the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, includes a puzzling reference to Marini's being an "attuale servitore della Sacra Maestà di Ferdinando Secondo", Leopold's father, who had been dead for twelve years: "attuale" cannot, therefore, have been employed in its usual sense of "current".[9] Clark inclines to the view that this reference probably means at most that Marini had once performed before Ferdinand II:[10] as Marini does not appear among the musicians recorded at the Viennese court, he cannot have been in paid service there for any length of time. It is not inconceivable, however, that Marini was a "gentleman" at the Vienna court during the 1630s. Another possibility, given the "Viennese" scale of the pieces in op. 16, is that Marini's service to the Imperial court took the form of sending vocal compositions from afar.[11]

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8. Clark 1966, 3-4: "gentleman and knight of the Palatinate of Neuburg".
9. "current servant of the holy majesty of Ferdinand II".
10. Clark 1966, 44-45.
11. Some pieces in Monteverdi's eighth book appear to have been sent on this basis: see 1: 221, 238, 240, 244-5.

Martino Pesenti, c.1600-1648.

The blind Martino Pesenti produced at least seven books of secular vocal music between 1620 and his death.[12] He spent all his life in Venice, where he was a pupil of G.B. Grillo, as stated in the dedication to his first book of 1621 (NV2192). All of his works were published by Vincenti, who also supplied dedications for the books of 1628, 1641 and 1648 which unabashedly "puff" Pesenti in such terms as "meraviglia del nostro Secolo" (NV2197).[13]

Most of Pesenti's dedicatees are so far very little-known, and appear to have been Venetian patricians. There are, however, two who link Pesenti to Imperial circles: the Archduke Leopold (1628, NV2194), and the Imperial ambassador to Venice, Count Antonio Rabatta (1638, NV2196). It was Rabatta who employed Pesenti to tune and to compose for his enharmonic harpsichord.[14] While much of Pesenti's music is of a type then fairly standard in Venice,[15] these patrons may have contributed to its more unusual developments.

The first book (1621, NV2192) has a fairly conventional distribution of forces: there are twelve duets, seven trios and three madrigals for four voices. The settings are largely diatonic and syllabic, with a few dotted runs and semiquaver *passaggi*. In the third book (1628, NV2194) triple-metre sections appear in most pieces, sometimes alternating with common time throughout the piece: Pesenti uses both 3/1 and 3/2 signatures, and

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12. the second book appears to be missing: the two survivors from the 1620s were both reprinted.
13. "the wonder of our age".
14. Selfridge-Field 1975, 50.
15. see Chapter 9, esp. 1: 196-8.

also introduces the instruction "si canta adagio". The forces extend to five voices, as in "Vanne mesto sospir":[16] the texture relies heavily on duet and homophony, and there is little attempt at word-painting, although stereotyped dotted descending figures abound. Line endings are usually carefully observed with full, deliberate cadences.

In the fourth book (NV2196), which follows in 1638 after a ten-year gap, there are surprisingly few duets - only six, as against nine pieces for three voices and others for four, five and six. A new feature is the inclusion of several canzonetta settings with optional violin ritornelli: the strophes are written out and sometimes through-composed. The one six-voice piece is a madrigal with violin "sinfonie" - perhaps in emulation of Monteverdi's eighth book, published in the same year. Pesenti also extends his interest in triple metres by including passages in 6/4 metre and also a full-blown galliard. All of these features occur in earlier work by composers in Vienna, and their appearance in Pesenti's work at this point may result from his Austrian patron's influence.

The fifth book of 1641 (NV2197) consists entirely of two and three-voice pieces, although there is a note at the end (presumably by Vincenti, since he wrote the dedication) to say that the original intention to publish a larger book had been foiled by "la grave mia caduta di Paralisia":[17] the larger book might have included pieces for larger forces. The settings show a wide variety of treatment - strophic canzonettas, two vocal *correnti*, and, in the madrigals, a range of triple metres and tempo markings. "Ascolta come freme" is a setting of a Marino sonnet, with the octave effectively a miniature cantata for soprano solo, followed by a

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16. see Appendix E, 2: 219-25.
17. "my grave attack of paralysis" - perhaps a stroke?

very luscious setting of the sestet for three high voices: an adventurous approach, if in formal terms somewhat unbalanced.[18] The extended treatment is typical of the book: whereas the individual parts in the first book of 1621 occupied about a page per piece, here, twenty years later, each part takes up a minimum of two pages.

The last two books are of marginal interest to this study. The *Ultime fatiche*, published posthumously in 1648 (NV2199), consist almost entirely of strophic duets. The *Capricci stravaganti* of 1647 (NV2198) is a luxury edition including an engraved portrait of Pesenti: it includes many pieces composed on bass patterns (ground basses, ostinati, the *pass'e mezzo*), several canzonettas and other pieces which make extensive use of triple metres. In "Ite in dono a colei", for example, Pesenti contrasts outer sections in 3/1 sung "Adagio quanto si può" with a faster middle section in 3/4. Although melodic instruments are not included, many pieces include ritornelli for the continuo part: in the pieces for three voices, the bass voice also tends to serve a ritornello-type function, punctuating the tenor duet above it. Most of the texts in this book are pastoral, in contrast to the more standard amorous verses of the earlier books.

Giovanni Rovetta, 1595-1668.

Rovetta, like Pesenti, spent virtually all his life in Venice.[19] A priest, he was *vice-maestro* at San Marco from 1627, and *maestro di cappella* from 1643 to his death. His first book, published by Magni in 1629 (NV2461), proved especially durable: Magni reprinted it in 1636 and 1648, and it was also reprinted in Rotterdam in 1660. Rovetta frames the usual

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18. see Appendix E, 2: 212-8.
19. Roche in NG, 16: 278-9.

sequence of madrigals a 2-4 within some more unusual works, opening the book with a grand piece for six voices with violin *sinfonie*, and concluding it a group comprising: a duet with violin ritornelli, a large-scale dialogue for soprano, tenor, three-voice chorus and violins; and a "cantata" - in this case a setting for solo voice of "Le lagrime d'Erminia", five strophes by Guido Casoni based on Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*. Several of the pieces in the main sequence are also canzonettas with ritornelli, and most pieces have sections in triple time. The work is dedicated to Paolo Giordano II Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, who appears to have been equally in touch with Rome and Venice.[20]

The second book of 1640 (published by Vincenti, NV2465) is very ambitious in scale, including works for up to eight voices with violins. "Venga dal ciel" for five voices and violins is typical of the large-scale pieces both in style and in subject-matter:[21] the dedication to Francesco Pozzo makes no mention of any occasion for the composition or performance of this music, but the combination in the texts of references to virtue and to contented love would seem appropriate for wedding celebrations. Rovetta makes frequent use of a through-composed form with refrain, even in the few duets and trios. This book, like its predecessor, finishes with a "Cantata", in this case for four voices, which is published in score in the continuo part-book: there is a solo verse for each voice and then a tutti finale.

The third book (Vincenti, 1645, NV2466) represents something of a retrenchment, returning to the standard forces (2-4 voices, no violins) and including little formal experimentation, although "D'uscir da crudo

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20. see Appendix A, 2: 14.
21. see Appendix E, 2: 234-46.

impaccio" uses the form he labels as "cantata" in 1640: "O quanto lieto" recalls the structure of Pesenti's "Ascolta come freme", as it is written for a tenor solo (Tirsi) followed by a three-voice chorus of nymphs. The collection of the works is this time undertaken by Rovetta's nephew G.B. Volpe, who refers to them as "poco da lui [Rovetta] forse apprezzati, mentre hora impiegato in armonie più piene, sdegna queste".[22] There may also be an element of protocol involved: the book is dedicated to Francesco Cavalli, who was second organist at San Marco while Rovetta was *maestro di cappella*:[23] for Rovetta to dedicate the book to his junior colleague would be to emphasise the value of Cavalli's operatic achievements in a way that the Venetian government, to whom San Marco was all-important, may have found objectionable.[24]

Galeazzo Sabbatini, 1597-1662.

Galeazzo Sabbatini spent nearly all his life in Pesaro, mainly as a canon at Pesaro cathedral.[25] Pesaro, on the Adriatic coast, was part of the Duchy of Urbino before its annexation by the Papacy in 1626, and became the favoured seat of the papal governors. Although not a major cultural centre, Pesaro was far from a backwater. Its Teatro del Sole opened in 1637, staging mainly works already performed in Rome and Venice. Elvidio Surian states, without adding details, that "in the seventeenth century numerous musical performances took place at the homes of the nobility, and in the premises of academies such as the Accademia dei Disinvolti (founded 1645)". Musicians employed at the cathedral in Sabbatini's youth

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22. "little valued, perhaps, by him, while he is now employed in fuller harmonies and disdains these".
23. Walker in NG, 4: 24-34.
24. Volpe also, tantalisingly, suggests that Cavalli should publish his own madrigals. I have not examined the MS four-voice madrigals by Rovetta in the Bodleian Library.
25. Roche in NG, 16: 364-5.

included Vincenzo Pellegrini and Bartolomeo Barbarino, while the second part of Lodovico Zacconi's *Prattica di musica* appeared in 1622, 26 years after he had retired to Pesaro from Venice.[26]

The dedicatee of Sabbatini's first book of 1625 (NV2499), Fabio Barignani, was probably a local gentleman, possibly a poet.[27] The second book (NV2502) was dedicated to Archduke Leopold in 1626 upon Leopold's marriage to Claudia Medici della Rovere, the widow of the heir to the Duchy of Urbino. The wedding was a major event, involving years of diplomatic preparations, and it was celebrated with even greater pomp than that of Leopold's brother Ferdinand II to Eleonora Gonzaga in 1622.[28] The third book of 1627 (NV2505) was dedicated to Luigi Gallo, bishop of Ancona, who was also highly respected as a keyboard-player and may have been a pupil of Frescobaldi: Gallo was the dedicatee of no fewer than eight books of music between 1609 and 1652, among them Frescobaldi's second book of toccatas, which also appeared in 1627. It seems that Gallo had a say in the choice of *maestro di cappella* at the Santa Casa in Loreto, a much sought-after post which was then vacant.[29] Sabbatini tells us in his preface that he had met Gallo in person: this is his only book entirely for five voices, a feature which may well have been intended to please Roman taste.[30]

By 1630, Sabbatini had left Pesaro to become "Maestro di Cappella di Camera dell'eccellentissimo Signor Duca della Mirandola", to whom his last

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26. Surian in NG, 14: 569 "Pesaro".
27. see Appendix A, 2: 7.
28. cf. ADB 18: 398.
29. Cavicchi 1986, 91-92.
30. Sabbatini's only other dedication from Pesaro is that of his first book of sacred music in 1626 to Malatesta Baglione, bishop of Pesaro, who had been much involved in the secular as well as the ecclesiastical administration of the duchy - Baglion de la Dufferie 1907, 280-283.

madrigal-book was dedicated in 1636 (NV2509). This duke was Alessandro I Pico della Mirandola, a keen patron of "virtuosi" who died in 1637 and was succeeded by his six-year-old grandson, Alessandro II. Sabbatini appears to have remained in Mirandola until 1639.[31]

Sabbatini does not seem to have returned to Pesaro until 1641. He may have spent part of the missing two years in Bergamo.[32] It is intriguing to speculate whether he may also have developed his contacts with Rome at this stage. He was included in several of the sacred and secular anthologies edited by Florido de Silvestris in the 1650s, but the amount of space that Kircher devotes to his unpublished work in the *Musurgia Universalis* would suggest that there had also been some personal contact between the two before 1650.[33] Kircher pays more attention to an otherwise unknown enharmonic theory by Sabbatini than to those of Vicentino, della Valle and Doni combined,[34] and includes the score of a motet, "Derelinquat impius", which combines diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic writing.[35] Sabbatini's initial links with Rome and especially with its "arcane" circles may have been provided by Luigi Gallo or even

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31. I have no information on the dedicatees of Sabbatini's books of sacred music, Ferdinando Mellini, bishop of Imola (1637) and Count Francesco Calcagni (1640).
32. Roche in NG, 16: 364-5 and private communication.
33. Angelini Bontempi also lists Sabbatini among the composers in Rome when Kircher was writing - see 1: 120.
34. Kircher 1650, 1: 460ff.
35. ibid., 1: 464-72: Jerome Roche informs me that this motet was not published elsewhere. This piece makes what we would now term an enharmonic shift from C# major to D flat major in bars 18-20. This appears to sit rather oddly with Sabbatini's theory involving a 36- or 38-note-per-octave keyboard - the description and diagram by Kircher on pp. 460-461 do not tally - but the moves sharpwards during the first eighteen bars are marked by small inverted V signs which may ultimately have brought the player of such an instrument up to D flat. It should be noted that the notation in the *Musurgia* is inaccurate, with misplaced accidentals etc.

by Antonio or Francesco Barberini, who were both Papal Legates to Pesaro and Urbino.[36]

Apart from one piece in the second *Florido Concento* of 1653,[37] all of Sabbatini's madrigals were written by 1636. Each book save the last, of 1636 (NV2509), was reprinted: the final reprint (of the second book) appeared in Antwerp in 1640 (NV2504). The 1653 piece, in flowing triple time throughout, appears to have been written for a different audience from the madrigal-books: one wonders whether other pieces by Sabbatini from this period may have circulated in the Roman "cantata" manuscripts.

As with several other composers in this chapter, Sabbatini's madrigal-books grow increasingly ambitious: the works become longer and employ larger forces, while the increasing use of additional melodic instruments such as violins coincides with the inclusion of more pieces cast in forms other than the madrigal. Some of Sabbatini's dedicatees may have had a very direct influence on his music, even from a distance. The third book (NV2505) includes a canzonetta to be performed in either duple or triple mensuration, an intellectual device which might well be aimed at the Roman circles in which Luigi Gallo moved. The same book, however, also shows some influence from Austria, and therefore perhaps from the dedicatee of the previous year, Archduke Leopold. It is the first of Sabbatini's books to use a bass viol with the violins (only one piece in the second book includes violins at all), and also includes a piece using

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36. Marcolini 1868: Antonio 1631-33, Francesco 1633-1643. Barbieri 1986, 118-125 publishes new material confirming the friendship between Sabbatini and Kircher after 1650, including a letter from Sabbatini to Kircher in 1653 and letters from Francesco Laurentii informing Kircher of Sabbatini's death at the end of 1662 and relating to subsequent plans for the posthumous publication of Sabbatini's treatise *Scintille armoniche*, which has since disappeared.
37. see Appendix E, 2: 255-61.

a clay nightingale ("rossignuol di creta") of the type specified by Giovanni Valentini in his book of 1619. In the fourth book (1630, NV2507) the "alcune canzoni concertate, e tramezzate diversamente con Sinfonie, e Ritornelli" form a distinct section at the end of the book.[38] A similar pattern may be seen in the fifth book of 1636 (NV2509). Sabbatini does not call for the maximum number of instruments and voices to perform simultaneously: assuming a chitarrone or "viola" to go with the violins, and a harpsichord to accompany the voices, his largest ensemble appears to be eight performers, as against twelve for Rovetta or fourteen for Marini.[39]

Many of Sabbatini's compositions are unique settings of their texts; most of those that have so far been identified come from the *Ghirlanda dell'Aurora* or the *Gareggiamento poetico*.[40] Very few of his lyrics are well-known: in five books of madrigals he includes only one poem by Guarini and three by Marino. Although nearly all his texts are in madrigal form, his inclusion of other musical forms in the later books also leads to the use of aria and canzonetta texts. The subject-matter of the lyrics tends to be somewhat abstract (such as his pastoral texts) or light-hearted, as in his reflections on physical features such as eyes. Intensity is avoided or mocked: some verses have pathetic openings negated by ironic twists, while Sabbatini sometimes appears to trivialise or exaggerate pathos in his setting to achieve a comic effect.

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38. "a few canzoni variously concerted and interspersed with sinfonie and ritornelli": one of these, "O sospir amoroso", is included in Appendix E, 2: 271-3.
39. for further details of continuo scoring see Appendix B.
40. Petracci 1609, [Fiamma] 1611. The possibility that Galeazzo was related to Vincenzo Sabbatini (see 1: 169) might be supported by Vincenzo's use in 1629 (NV2522) of three texts hitherto used only by Galeazzo in his first book of 1625 (NV2499).

Sabbatini's settings are generally quite florid, with many semiquaver *passaggi* and vigorous declamation on quavers or dotted figures. Their tonality is solidly established: there are very few unexpected harmonic turns, and modulations are clearly marked by secondary-dominant cadences. There is also very little use of dissonance apart from passing clashes and the expected cadential suspensions: the interest lies in clear declamation, easy virtuosity, counterpoint which sometimes has Mazzocchian overtones in that it is skilful and yet transparent, and above all in impeccable pacing. Sabbatini is extremely sparing in his use of triple metre:[41] contrast in metre is a formal device which he knows how to use, but does not really need. "Luci amorose e belle" demonstrates Sabbatini's particular strength as a madrigalist:[42] an ability to make the madrigal succeed as a musical entity without imposing any extraneous formal devices upon it. He has an acute sense of just how diverse his material should be, just how much contrast in note-values or number of voices is desirable at a particular point, how to build a climax, and, above all, when and when not to repeat words or material. He frequently uses the common contemporary device of stating his ideas in one or two voices and then working them into a tutti, but he does not allow this to become a repetitive pattern: and he does not fall into the habit of repeating every phrase with a different combination of voices.

Orazio Tarditi, 1602-1677.[43]

Tarditi moved frequently around northern Italy during his career:[44] his

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41. the opening of "Combattean dolcemente" in Appendix E, 2: 247-54, is a rare exception.
42. see Appendix E, 2: 262-70.
43. I do not have details of a PhD thesis by Jane Pouw Felty, "Arie, madrigali & canzonette of Horatio Tarditi", in progress at Cincinnati.
44. Roche in NG, 18: 578.

second book of madrigals (1633, NV2706)[45] was produced during his time at Murano, near Venice, while his third (1639, NV2707) appeared shortly after he settled in Forli, on the Via Emilia: his third book of "canzonette e madrigaletti" of 1652 (NV2705, not examined) dates from his years in Faenza. All of his works were published by Vincenti. Few of his texts are attributable: those so far identified are mainly obscure texts, by little-known poets, from the poetic anthologies: several others have concordances dating from the late sixteenth century. The second book of 1633 (NV2706) is typical of Venetian books a 2-4: the most adventurous use of devices such as triple-time sections and ritornelli occurs in the duets, although one of the four-voice pieces uses an interesting solo-duet-tutti format.

The third book of 1639 (NV2707), however, is something of a curiosity, consisting mainly of madrigals for five voices and continuo, with a group for three voices added at the end. The five-voice pieces show a very continuous texture, although the use in "Dice Licori" of tiny phrases in combination takes the *concertato* principle to extremes. Since this book was published soon after Tarditi's move to Forli, with a dedication to a member of a Florentine noble family, it seems probable that the five-voice pieces were written during Tarditi's two-year sojourn at Volterra, in Tuscany. The three-voice pieces are much more adventurous. "Spelonche, i vostri horrori" avoids counterpoint, placing a strong emphasis on declamatory writing for solo voice or in homophony.[46] The setting of the word "silentio" is startling, ending as it does on a weak quaver after a dotted note and followed by a rest: in other composers, if a phrase ends on a quaver it is invariably one of a pair of quavers.

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45. I have not found any reference to a first book.
46. see Appendix E, 2: 289-99.

This audacity is compounded by the lack of any movement in the other voices to distract from the rhythmic effect. The whole piece leans heavily in the direction of a recitative/aria division, with a flowing central triple-time section.

Francesco Turini, c.1589-1658.

Francesco Turini was born in Prague and, aside from early training in Venice and Rome, served there until the Imperial court moved to Vienna: he then went on to Venice, where he served Giovanni Francesco Morosini, to whom he later dedicated his third book of 1629 for three voices and violins (NV2773). By 1620 he was organist at Brescia cathedral, where he remained until his death.[47] All of his published secular music was produced during his first ten years at Brescia:[48] however, the dedication of the first book of 1621 (NV2769) to Marquis Lodovico Gonzaga, Bishop of Alba (a town in Piedmont) refers to "questi miei Madrigali che hebbero principio in Casa sua".[49] The dedication of the second book of 1624 (NV2772) to Alfonso d'Este has already been mentioned: Turini refers to "la benignità generosa, con la quale si è compiaciuta l'A. V. Serenissima di gradire benespesso il talento delle mie Compositioni",[50] which suggests that the rulers of Modena may have commissioned some settings from Turini as they did from Monteverdi. In the third book of 1629 (NV2773), Turini states that he decided to dedicate these pieces to Morosini "persuadendomi, ch'ella debba accettarli con li soliti suoi generosissimi

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47. Pyron in NG, 19: 265-6.
48. books of sacred music were published in 1640 and 1643.
49. "these madrigals of mine which had their beginning in your household".
50. see above, p. 163: "the generous benignity, with which your Serene Highness has been pleased to receive often the talent of my compositions".

termini",[51] one of the clearest references we have to the financial nature of at least some of these transactions.

The survival of an unusually large number of copies of Turini's books suggests that they achieved a wide distribution.[52] In the 1621 version of the first book (NV2769) and Magni's reprint (NV2770), the madrigals consist almost entirely of duets and dialogues for two voices, with one solo madrigal: the 1624 Vincenti print (NV2771) adds three madrigals for three voices and two further instrumental pieces to the four of the 1621 print. The other pieces in the book are pieces in other forms for two voices, some with strings. The later books, published by Vincenti, tend to employ rather larger forces: the third book (NV2773) is scored throughout for three voices, violins and at least two continuo instruments;[53] the consistent scoring suggests that the works were written for a series of performances using these forces. The second book (NV2772, 1624) offers a more normal range of duets, trios and four-voice madrigals before finishing with three pieces including violins (an "aria" and a "gagliarda" for two voices and a madrigal for three) and a solo piece in *stile recitativo* which is among the first of this type to be termed "cantata".

An unusually large proportion of the verse set by Turini is identifiable. Marino is prominent among the authors, especially in the second book, where over half the texts are his. However, Turini does not use the usual selection of Marino's madrigals: five of the Marino poems set in the

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51. "persuading myself, that you should accept them with your customary most generous terms".
52. first book: one incomplete copy of 1621 edition, NV2769; five copies of Magni 1624 edition, NV2770; four copies of Vincenti 1624 edition, NV2771: second book, 1624, NV2772, five copies: third book, 1629, NV2773 (consisting of seven part-books), three copies.
53. separate partbooks for Basso continuo and Basso per il Chitarrone: see Appendix B, esp. 2: 23.

three books are sonnets, all set for the first time. Many of the other texts are drawn from poetic anthologies, including the *Rose d'amore* of 1614: others are by less familiar poets such as Talenti. Several unidentified texts from NV2773 have concordances with Landi's *Arie* of 1620. The use of sonnet and aria texts is connected with Turini's interest in some kind of fixed formal framework. Many of the pieces in his third book use a structure of solo verses with tutti "refrains" - often using the same music to different words. The refrain in "Tall'hor vi porgo" is in triple metre; some other pieces use triple time either in a coda section or throughout. The setting of Marino's canzone "In una verde piaggia" makes a quasi-operatic distinction between common-time narration and triple-time direct speech. These formal devices are also used in various ways by other composers - most notably by those at the Viennese court (Chapter 10) and by the composers of the Roman cantata.

This kind of formal development may be a way of compensating for Turini's very limited musical language: he writes almost constantly in imitative, even canonic, counterpoint which results in a lack of flexibility in declamation. The addition of violins to the texture appears to be related to the use of forms other than the madrigal, especially in the first and second books, yet his violin writing is very similar to his vocal writing and often blended directly with it:[54] indeed, his melodies and his style of ornamentation are often more idiomatically suited to instruments than to voices.

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54. as in "Con che soavità" in his third book.

CHAPTER 9: VENICE AND THE VENETO

Musical patronage in Venice.

Venetian society took care to distribute political power among its patrician families, and also to discourage individuals from dominating patronage of cultural activities, preferring instead to promote such patronage through its numerous ecclesiastical and lay institutions.[1] Nearly all composers and performers in Venice made their regular income through church appointments, and some churches maintained large establishments even after composition for small forces had become the norm: in 1626 Rovetta described the establishment at San Marco, the showpiece of the Republic, as employing more than thirty singers and more than twenty wind and string instrumentalists,[2] although he is probably referring to the maximum forces that could be mustered for a major feast-day.

Several writers have already noted that the opening in 1637 of the Teatro San Cassiano, the first "public" opera house, did not mark the birth of opera in Venice, since many previous stage works with music had been produced there. What is important about this date is that it marks the introduction of opera into the institutional musical life of the city. Opera was thus able to attract its share of collective funding - by a whole family, a group of families, or by subscription - in a way that the madrigal, by definition a chamber form, had never been able to do. There is no record of any Venetian patron maintaining a private musical staff.[3]

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1. Selfridge-Field 1975, 33-36 has noted in particular the role played by the confraternities.
2. Fabbri 1985, 182-3.
3. Whenham 1982, 217.

secular chamber music was certainly cultivated, but on an occasional basis, with musicians hired mainly from church establishments.

In the late 1630s several Venetian composers published madrigal-books containing music on a larger scale, and requiring larger forces, than usual.[4] Although some of these works are connected with Austrian patronage, their concentration in such a short period of time suggests that they must also have had some role in Venice which was subject to more rapid changes than prevailed at the Habsburg courts.[5] In publication terms, these books were very expensive:[6] they were seldom reprinted and the evidence of surviving copies suggests a limited distribution, while the performers would have been more difficult to gather together on an occasional basis. My own impression is that these large-scale madrigals were written to compete with opera in providing a spectacular entertainment which enhanced the prestige of the patron: as opera became more fully established in the early 1640s, such lavish madrigal-books rapidly died out.

The lack of institutional patronage of the madrigal means that even for a composer as well-documented as Monteverdi we know very little about the circumstances for which his later secular vocal music was composed.[7] Foreign dignitaries seem to have been behind much of the secular chamber music recorded in Venice. Monteverdi supplied secular vocal music to

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4. for example the books by Pesenti, 1638, and Rovetta, 1640, described in Chapter 8, 1: 179, 181.
5. see Chapter 10, 1: 228-31.
6. the Vincenti catalogue of 1649 (Mischiati 1984, IX, nos. 53-86) lists books a 2-4 from 3 lire 10 soldi to 5 lire, while Monteverdi's eighth book is priced at 16 lire.
7. Fabbri 1985, 382 n. 27, cites Doni's claim that the five-voice version of Arianna's lament was composed at the request of a Venetian nobleman, but it appears to have been begun well before Monteverdi's move to Venice: Schrade 1950, 277 quotes a letter from Casola in 1610 which refers to it.

diplomatic banquets in 1626 and 1628,[8] and directed a three-hour chamber music session in 1627 for Christian Wilhelm of Brandenburg - at the house of the English ambassador to Savoy and Venice, Sir Isaac Wake.[9] The description of the 1626 banquet refers to at least one piece which is now lost,[10] while the music for the 1628 banquet at the Arsenal included a setting of five sonnets by Giulio Strozzi.[11] Monteverdi was also attached to the retinue of Vladislav Sigismund of Poland during his visit to Venice in March 1625.[12] The presence of an archicembalo at the home of the Imperial ambassador, Antonio Rabatta, has been noted above, p. 178.

Approximately fifteen Venetian patricians received dedications of madrigal-books between 1620 and 1655.[13] Several of these dedications came from local composers while the patron concerned was serving in a provincial posting such as the captaincy or mayoralty of Verona, Treviso etc. Within Venice itself, there is one (rather oblique) reference to a performance of madrigals at the home of Monteverdi's most important individual Venetian patron, Girolamo Mocenigo: the performance directions for the *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* state that the piece should be performed after several "madrigali senza gesto". A few years after the *Combattimento* was performed in 1624, Monteverdi appears to have completed for Mocenigo a madrigal setting, now lost, of Armida's lament -

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8. Fabbri 1985, 259.
9. Arnold & Fortune (eds.) 1985, 242; Fabbri 1985, 267.
10. cited Fabbri 1985, 259: "il Monteverdi...fece cantare, mentre si celebrava il convito, conforme al solito alcune sue canzoni, nei terzetti delle quali si replicava 'Non se li può più credere, perchè non vi è più fede' ".
11. ibid., 280.
12. ibid., 254: see also Fabbri 1982.
13. see Appendix A: only in a few instances do I have sufficient biographical information to confirm both patrician status and normal residence in Venice.

begun, however, for Mantua.[14] An obscure, but interesting, patron is Francesco Pozzo, who received dedications from Rovetta in 1640 (NV2465) and Pesenti in 1641 (NV2197): to judge from their references to his eloquence, he may have been a politician or lawyer. Rovetta refers to Pozzo's love of music in "frequently enriching this city's treasure of angelic harmonies" - this in a book which is remarkable for including long pieces for five, six and eight voices with violins, forces hardly heard of in this period except in Vienna or Mantua.[15]

Formal or informal academies appear to have played a substantial role in the promotion of the madrigal in other parts of Italy, but within Venice the only academy which appears to have been of any importance in this respect is the Accademia degli Unisoni, whose members included Giulio Strozzi (its founder), G.F. Loredano, Paolo Vendramin and Ferrante Pallavicino, and for which Monteverdi apparently composed.[16] "Gira il nemico" in Monteverdi's eighth book sets a lyric by Strozzi:[17] this does not necessarily mean, however, that it was composed for either the Unisoni or any other Venetian environment, since Strozzi had also been the librettist for *La finta pazza Licori*, commissioned from Mantua.[18] There is some more direct evidence that the Unisoni supported music: they revived the Argonaut intermedio from the set composed by Monteverdi in 1628 for the Farnese-Medici wedding in Parma, and they dedicated their

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14. Fabbri 1985, 262-6. Domenico Obizzi also dedicated his book of 1627 (NV2046) to Mocenigo - but, as Mocenigo had stood godfather to the fifteen-year-old composer, his patronage does not necessarily reflect his taste in music.
15. "il sollievo, che V.S. Eccellentissima...suol tal volta ricevere dalla Musica, con arricchir questa Città bene spesso del tesoro d'angeliche armonie..."
16. Fabbri 1985, 298 reporting information derived from an anti-Unisoni satire.
17. ibid., 309 - possibly also "Ardo avvampo", cf. discussion in Chapter 10, 1: 247-8.
18. Fabbri, 1985, 262.

Veglia terza (1638) to the singer and composer Barbara Strozzi, Giulio's adopted daughter.[19] Barbara indicates in the preface to her madrigal-book of 1644 that the lyrics she has set are all by Giulio (see below, p. 204); this may link these works, too, to his academy.[20]

The influence of the publishers.

As we saw in Chapter 3, Vincenti and Magni were at this stage the only specialist music publishers in Italy, and both appear to have taken a particular interest in the madrigal. As regular patronage of madrigal composition and performance seems to have been lacking in Venice, it is not surprising that Venetian madrigalists should concentrate on producing a type of madrigal-book which was particularly viable for publishers. Such books typically consist of pieces for small forces - two or three voices with a few token items for four or five - which often display showy ornamentation but are very simple in harmony. Works of this kind might be sight-read by skilled singers, and would entertain an audience without demanding any intellectual application. Some books in this style seem to have sold very well: Grandi's two collections of *concertato* madrigals (NV1271-79) were reprinted several times within a few years of publication, while the three reprints of Rovetta's book of 1629 span thirty years (NV2461-4). Monteverdi's seventh book, the *Concerto* of 1619

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19. Fabbri 1985, 298-299.

20. Walther 1732, 47, apparently drawing on the title-page of a lost book of madrigals a 2-3, 1623, describes Giacomo Arrigoni as the "Affettuoso" in the political/free-thinking Accademia dei Fileleuteri, which flourished in Venice in the 1620s (Fabbri 1985, 181; Maylender 1928-30, 2: 396). Outside Venice, Monteverdi was a member in 1625-26 of the Filomusi in Bologna (Fabbri 1985, 256), while Barbara Strozzi's op. 2 of 1651 (NV2689) includes a text which she attributes to the "prince" of the Accademia Olimpica of Vicenza, possibly indicating a more lasting connection.

(NV1936-40), also appears to have been a commercial success, since it enjoyed several reprints: although it contains mainly duets and trios, however, it is not very representative of the Venetian style, as many of the pieces were composed for the Mantuan court and are thus more complex and idiosyncratic than those of Grandi or Rovetta.[21]

The appearance in the late 1630s of a number of books containing more elaborate music for larger forces has already been noted, as have two points which help to explain this phenomenon: the fact that they were frequently associated with Austrian or other "outside" patronage, and the possibility that such large-scale works were an attempt to compete with opera. The return to music on a more modest scale in the 1640s and 1650s is particularly noticeable where the same composers are involved. Vincenti's posthumous publications of music by Pesenti (1648, NV2199) and Monteverdi (1651, NV1942), both consist entirely of pieces for two or three voices, most of them strophic canzonettas. Fabbri views the simpler music of Monteverdi's ninth book as more in keeping with the musical taste of his time than that of the eighth, noting that the pieces in the ninth book were apparently favoured by such distinguished performers as Anna Renzi later in the century.[22] The ninth book was, of course, much cheaper to produce, but we should be wary of concluding that the simpler music reflects contemporary taste, which operated at several levels of sophistication - and, as we have seen, differed according to local circumstances. The madrigal does, however, appear to have suffered some

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21. the larger-scale works with instruments and the ballet *Tirsi e Clori* have the most clearly-established connections with Mantua: cf. Fabbri 1985, 203-4, 217-20.
22. Fabbri 1985, 355.

loss of status; we saw in Chapter 8 that Rovetta left the compilation of his third book of 1645 (NV2466) to his nephew, G.B. Volpe.[23]

The Venetian style: Alessandro Grandi, c.1575-1630.[24]

Grandi cannot be regarded as an entirely Venetian composer: his trend-setting first book of madrigals a 2-4 (NV1271) was published while he was still employed in Ferrara in 1615 and dedicated to a local academy, the Intrepidi. He moved to Venice as *vice-maestro* at San Marco in 1617 and his second madrigal-book was published in 1622 (NV1277). Both collections enjoyed considerable commercial success and were reprinted until 1626.[25] Both exploit much the same features: catchy, singable melodies, little embellishment, and a predominant texture of duets for equal high voices, sometimes over a vocal as well as instrumental bass. The vocal lines of these madrigals are in most respects very similar to those of Grandi's *Cantade et arie*, of which he published four books (NV1267-70). The third and fourth books of *Cantade*, for solo voice and continuo (1626 and 1629), include decidedly "popular" features - not only guitar letters but also a preliminary guitar alphabet and other rudiments of music. I find it difficult to agree with Arnold, therefore, that the *Cantade* were not reprinted because they "were meant, no doubt, for a more limited audience [than the madrigals]":[26] the lack of reprints probably

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23. NV2466 is also more modestly scored than both of its predecessors, consisting almost entirely of duets and trios, with a couple of strophic pieces.
24. cf. Maggs 1975 and Arnold 1986.
25. Book 1 five times, Book 2 twice.
26. Arnold 1986, 491.

results from more rapid changes in fashion than applied to the madrigal.[27a] The distinction between the "cantade" and "arie" in these books is a vexed question discussed elsewhere in this dissertation.[27b] It is interesting, however, to see that while Grandi does not use triple metre at all in his madrigal-books, in the *Cantade et arie* it appears to be associated with unmadrigalian line lengths: in "Al seren del tuo volto" (1626) where the seven- and eleven-syllable lines of each strophe are set in common time and the eight-, five- and six-syllable lines in triple metre.[28] This usage foreshadows later conventions in the versification of recitative and aria.

By the time of the second book of madrigals of 1622 (NV1277), Grandi had been at San Marco for five years. While his essential style had changed little since 1615, the later book shows greater ambition by including two dialogues - one a long set of strophic variations for four voices - and also one piece, "E cosi pur languendo", which attempts chromaticism.[29] Although this piece strikes a more serious note than most of Grandi's madrigals, it nevertheless illustrates several major features of his style. He employs the widely-favoured combination of two tenors, bass and continuo, in an exceptionally clear G-minor tonality. The "languishing" of the opening is depicted in descending chromatic tetrachords from G to D or D to A in all voices, a very striking effect produced with very simple means: dissonance is generally limited to passing-notes and mild suspensions. The text is declaimed syllabically in short motives which are often used in sequences, and although there are no extended solos,

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27a. It is difficult to assess the changes as only the third book now survives complete - but the contrasts are in any case striking between the first book for solo voice, the second for two and three voices with instruments, and the third and fourth, with their guitar accompaniment.

27b. See chapter 1, p. 17, and chapter 11, p. 262-4.

28. see Appendix E, 2: 141-4.

29. see Appendix E, 2: 145-9.

the texture is fairly open. The harmonic rhythm tends to fall into regular patterns, with some use of a walking bass.[30]

Other Venetian composers.

Gabriel Usper's first book a 2-4, "newly reprinted" by Vincenti in 1623 (NV2780), was dedicated to his uncle Francesco, organist at S. Giovanni Evangelista and a prominent local figure.[31] Usper follows Grandi closely in his use of equal high voices in short and simple settings. One four-voice piece, a setting of the "Gioco della cieca" from Guarini's *Pastor fido*, has solos for each voice and includes several repeats, but even here Usper seems disinclined to elaborate: only one piece in the book includes semiquaver *passaggi*. Usper was an instrumentalist, not a singer,[32] and this may be reflected in his liking for homophonic cadences on a pair of even notes such as minims or semibreves - a rhythmic feature characteristic of instrumental dance music. Two of his two-voice madrigals use brief sections in triple time.

Although the music of Pellegrino Possenti's *Canora sampogna* (NV2260; Venice: Magni, 1623, reprinted 1628) generally resembles Grandi's in its simplicity, the ambitious nature of the book leads the composer to explore a wider range of devices. Possenti is believed to have been in Venice in 1623, although this is uncertain: by 1625 he had moved to Vicenza.[33] The full title of the work is an elaborate piece of wit:

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30. In view of Grandi's compositional style it is rather curious that Vincenti should dedicate to him the 1621 Venetian edition (NV2017), with basso continuo part by Milanuzzi, of Nenna's first book for a 4 (Naples: Gargano & Nucci, 1613, NV2016).
31. Selfridge-Field in NG, 19: 476-7.
32. Selfridge-Field in NG, 19: 477.
33. Fortune in NG, 15: 153.

Canora sampogna composta di sette canne musicali. Prima canna, dalla quale escono Madrigali a 2 e 3 voci, Canzonette a 2 voci. Li Sospiri d'Ergasto, et il Lamento d'Ariana, del cavalier Marino a voce sola.[34] Despite his florid title, Possenti turns modest in his dedication: he praises "sig. Monte Verde" and declares that he has no intention of publishing the other six "canne": "emendarò l'ardire della presente Stampa con un perpetuo Silentio".[35] After the reference to Marino in his title, it is surprising that only the two pieces specifically mentioned there have texts by him: most of the lyrics are unique and as yet unidentified.[36] Apart from the two by Marino, there are five poems by Francesco Maria Caccianemici,[37] one by Guarini, and one by Cattaneo.[38] The selection from such recently-published sources as Marino's *Sampogna* might indicate that some of the unattributed texts may have been by Possenti himself or a friend or patron active in literary circles.

The unusually large collection of 28 pieces is heavily dominated by duets, which comprise fourteen madrigals, a dialogue, a lament (with three of its five sections for solo voice) and six canzonettas, two of them set as strophic variations. There are also four madrigals for three voices and two solo laments (to the Marino texts): the latter are printed both in the appropriate part-book and in score in the continuo part. Possenti makes some use of *passaggi* and of slurred quavers (as in Monteverdi's *canto*

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34. "tuneful bagpipes made up of seven musical reeds: first reed, from which issue madrigals for two and three voices, canzonettas for two voices, the sighs of Ergasto, and the lament of Ariadne, by Marino, for solo voice".
35. "I will make amends for the daring of the present print with a perpetual silence": the dedication to the reprint implies that the book's success is more to the credit of the dedicatee than the composer.
36. although two unattributed lyrics were set by Bernardi and Rontani respectively in publications of 1619.
37. including the only settings of two that had been published in collections of the Accademia dei Gelati.
38. attributed in its previous setting by Giaccio, 1618.

alla francese), but confines his use of triple time to the canzonettas, although several of his madrigals also use canzonetta-style repeat markings. The "Sospiri d'Ergasto" employs all the tricks of the early seventeenth-century solo madrigal - *passaggi*, trills, affective leaps, etc.; but Arianna's lament, which is probably, like its text, more recent, is set much more simply.

Domenico Obizzi's status and circumstances are somewhat obscure: born ca. 1612, he is last recorded as a singer at San Marco in 1630,[39] but he was probably an impoverished off-shoot of a patrician family: in his prefaces of 1627, he says that he lived under the protection of Lorenzo Loredano from the age of nine (op. 2) and that Girolamo Mocenigo held him at his christening (op. 1).[40] With 25 pieces, his op. 1 is another unusually large collection: there are twelve duets, five madrigals for three voices, and four madrigals each for four and five voices. These compositions were presumably written as part of Obizzi's musical training, and this may account for the relatively high proportion of works for more than two or three voices. His duets tend to be more adventurous than the other pieces in their use of triple metre, repeated sections and *passaggi*.

"Se de miei giusti prieghi" is unusual among Obizzi's four-voice pieces in including triple-metre sections, although there are still apparently too many voices for him to include much ornamentation.[41] In both common and triple metres, he shows a fondness for the descending tetrachord bass, though it never becomes a set pattern: he also makes some use of walking basses. He disposes his four voices largely as a series of duets: the

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39. Fabbri 1985, 381.
40. 1 a 2-5 bc, op. 1 (NV2046), *Madrigali et arie a voce sola*, op. 2, both Vincenti.
41. see Appendix E, 2: 185-92.

more contrapuntal tuttis, in effect, contrast two opposing duets. Like most of his contemporaries, Obizzi makes over-frequent use of descending quaver declamation in thirds. In the last triple-time section, the off-beat "si" interjections add a playful character to the piece. Passing dissonances, especially augmented triads, are more frequent in Obizzi's work than in that of many contemporaries, while occasional augmented seconds within individual voice-parts are more likely to result from inexperience than from intention.

Pietro Andrea Ziani's *Fiori musicali* of 1640 (Venice: Magni, NV3026) represent a logical extension of the Grandi tradition: it is also possible that the lost book a 1-4 or 2-4 published before 1639 by Francesco Sacrati,[42] another distinguished opera composer, was of a similar nature. Ziani's madrigals were collected by the publisher, who also wrote the dedication to the abbot of S. Salvatore, where Ziani was employed. The collection shows a slight preference for duets, which often include a penultimate *arioso* section in triple metre; the final line then returns to common time. Presumably in order to facilitate this, Ziani chooses several texts whose first line may be recapitulated as an ending. He seldom uses triple metre in pieces for more than two voices. Most of his texts, including the seven by Guarini, are from readily accessible printed sources such as the anthologies.

"Ite amari sospiri" has already been mentioned in Chapter 4.[43] It shows most of the characteristics of Ziani's style, alternating "affective" writing (plangent intervals and elaborate *passaggi* over a slow-moving bass) with a livelier style featuring diatonic quaver figures over a

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42. de Sampaio Ribiero 1967, 1: 119, Mischiati 1984, IX 71.
43. see Appendix E, 2: 321-5.

walking bass. Word-painting appears only sporadically, and is readily sacrificed to the interests of melody: the setting of "che quel meschin si more" ("for that wretch dies") to a very jolly little tune is a typical example. Ziani's preference for flat tonal regions is interesting: this piece begins and ends in C minor, dwelling for the remainder in F and B flat major.

Barbara Strozzi's first book a 2-5, op. 1 (Venice: Vincenti, 1644, NV2688) is an unusual publication in a number of respects - not least in that she is the only female composer represented in this study.[44] Barbara was an outstanding singer, which placed her in a very peculiar social position in Venetian society, where most female performers before her time were either nuns or courtesans. Her dedication refers obliquely to her adoptive father, Giulio, who was a Florentine citizen, in such phrases as "tanti affettuosi aiuti dalla bontà d'uno studioso vasallo dell'Altezza vostra" and "colui, che, sin da fanciulletta, mi ha dato il cognome".[45] Her reliance on Giulio places her in the context of his academy of the Unisoni.[46] She states that all the texts ("scherzi") in opus 1 are written by him: some of these resemble the *mascherata* ("the Three Graces to Venus"), while others characterise an individual ("Old lover yielding his place"). Some are particularly whimsical: "Mordeva un bianco lino Aci dolente" explains how, according to its instructive caption, "dal pianto degli amanti s'imparò a far la carta".[47] The addition of captions underlines the more or less comic nature of all the texts - these are

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44. she also seeks out a female dedicatee, the Grand Duchess of Florence, Vittoria della Rovere. See the articles by Newcomb and Bowers respectively in Bowers and Tick (eds.) 1986, 90-115 and 116-67 for background on the emergence of women singers and composers in Northern Italy.
45. "so much affectionate assistance from the goodness of a studious vassal of your highness...he, who, from the time I was a little girl, has given me his surname".
46. see above, 1: 195.
47. "the grieving Acis was chewing a white sheet...from the weeping of lovers we learned how to make paper".

"scherzi", after all - and also Barbara's ambiguous social position, as many of these verses are of a frank, not to say bawdy, nature.[48a]

The way in which the book is laid out is also unusual: pieces for various scorings are mixed together, with strophic settings located at the end. Fewer pieces use a pair of high voices than is customary in contemporary books. One of the settings for three voices includes violins, which are not confined to ritornelli, but form an integral part of the texture. Nearly all pieces, for whatever scoring, use a good deal of triple metre, and three have key-signatures of two sharps, a very recent development in notation.

"Quel misero usignuolo" shows clear tonal thinking, with an underlying G minor reinforced by secondary-dominant progressions.[48b] Strozzi likes conjunct bass movement (both rising and falling) and a generally homophonic texture; this results in a more dissonant harmonic vocabulary than is usual in Venice. She uses a wide range of note-values in declamation, from semiquavers to minims; while she exploits the usual semiquaver or dotted *passaggi*, she does not overdo them. The text is also remarkable, with its reference to rape in its caption ("Athenian damsel forced by the King of Thrace") and its metaphor of the nightingale singing out of anger, not love: although it concedes to contemporary convention at the end with its reference to disappointed (male) lovers, it nevertheless conveys a strongly feminist impression - especially as one might easily equate the nightingale with the singer/composer herself.

48a. Ellen Rosand, "The voice of Barbara Strozzi", in Bowers and Tick (eds.) 1986, 168-90, investigates Strozzi's background and social position in more detail: see p. 172 for discussion of the possibility that she may have been a courtesan.

48b. see Appendix E, 2: 281-8.

Verona.

Verona was far enough from Venice to maintain its own independent cultural life, especially through its Accademia Filarmonica. It was, however, severely affected by the plague of 1630-31, when it lost about three-fifths of its population, including most of the cathedral establishment.[49] While Verona's musical life recovered rapidly in some respects, only one local madrigal publication post-dates this catastrophe.

The Accademia Filarmonica was established in 1543 for the cultivation of music and letters, and paid its own master of music from 1546;[50] most Filarmonici were capable of playing at least one instrument.[51] By 1627 the academy's financial resources were being stretched by an ambitious building programme, but it obtained from Venice the right to a share of any fine paid in the Veronese law-courts, a concession which was subsequently extended to many academies in cities of the Venetian empire:[52] indeed, it appears that Venice considered that its role as an imperial power obliged it to subsidise provincial cultural activities. Most distinguished local musicians had some connection with the Filarmonici: Stefano Bernardi (c.1585-1636), *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral, was an active member in the 1610s and early 1620s.[53a] The title of his *Concerti accademici* of 1616, dedicated to the academy,[53b] was imitated in the later publications of Bellante and Bettino: his third book for five voices (1619, reprinted by Vincenti in 1622, NV339-40), was also dedicated to one of its members, the Marchese Spinetta Malaspina, "il Veloce".

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49. Bologna in Pighi (ed.) 1976, 219-220.
50. Maylender 1928-30, 2: 386.
51. Paganuzzi in Pighi (ed.) 1976, 207.
52. Maylender 1928-30, 2: 392.
53a. Paganuzzi in Pighi (ed.) 1976, 199.
53b. see Turrini 1941, 193 for details for the payment of 15 golden scudi made by the academy for this dedication.

By 1621, however, when his *Madrigaletti* a 2-3 were published (Venice: Vincenti, NV341, reprinted 1627, NV342), Bernardi was already looking elsewhere for employment: in his dedication, to Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent (1562-1629), Bernardi states that "mi sono ingegnato di compor opera a poche voci, stimando cosi esser più conforme al gusto suo".[54] The collection is notable for including seven instrumental canzonas, while the three-voice pieces tend to an unusual complexity of structure, especially in the form of through-composed strophes with refrain. "Traditrice beltà" adds instrumental sinfonias; the bass moves repeatedly through the same tonal areas in both vocal and instrumental sections, but never settles into a pattern. Bernardi's third book for six voices of 1624 (Venice: Vincenti, NV343 - not examined) is dedicated to Archduke Karl of Austria (1590-1624): in the middle of 1624 Bernardi moved to Salzburg, where he later died. This book contains pieces for six voices with continuo, six voices doubled by instruments, four voices with two high instruments, and sonatas for six instruments, scorings which associate it clearly with Austria rather than Italy.[55]

Simplicio Todeschi, born in Verona around 1600, was presumably a pupil of Bernardi at the local Scuola degli Accoliti: three of his motets were included in the collection produced by the school, *Lilia sacra*, in 1618.[56] His *Amorose vaghezze* for three voices (Venice: Vincenti, 1627, NV2725) are dedicated to a member of the provincial government. These pieces have a number of affinities with the lighter forms of the sixteenth century such

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54. "I have endeavoured to compose works for few voices, thinking this to be more in line with your taste."
55. Antonio Bertali, who was a violinist at the Accademia Filarmonica in the early 1620s, may have travelled north with Bernardi: he entered employment at Vienna at about the same time as Bernardi reached Salzburg - Paganuzzi in Pighi (ed.) 1976, 204.
56. NG 19: 22, unsigned; Bernardi's treatise, *Porta musicale* of 1615, is dedicated to his pupils at the Accoliti.

as the *napolitana*. Nearly all are composed for three unequal voices; the texts are generally cheerful or pastoral; and the music is generally homophonic, with a lot of quaver declamation and little word-painting or passage-work. Many pieces, however, employ an independent walking bass, and the concluding "aria" for four voices is, despite its title, a *concertato* madrigal in common time.[57]

Dionisio Bellante, who went on to become a major figure in Verona later in life, was, according to his dedication, still in his teens when his *Concerti accademici* for one to six voices (Venice: Magni, NV294) were published in 1629.[58] The book contains a variety of scorings and forms: as well as seven five-voice madrigals, there are two solo recitatives, various duets and trios in strophic and through-composed forms,[59] and several through-composed pieces which are in triple metre throughout, including one "a 6" for four voices and violins. The settings are generally simple: the combination of an old-fashioned imitative texture with clear diatonicism is apt to become repetitive. There is little word-painting, and even some contradiction of the text, as in a particularly lively melisma on the word "morire". In the bass voice there are several passages of sudden virtuosity which owe nothing to the text and everything to sixteenth-century division technique, as in this example from the end of "Son morta":

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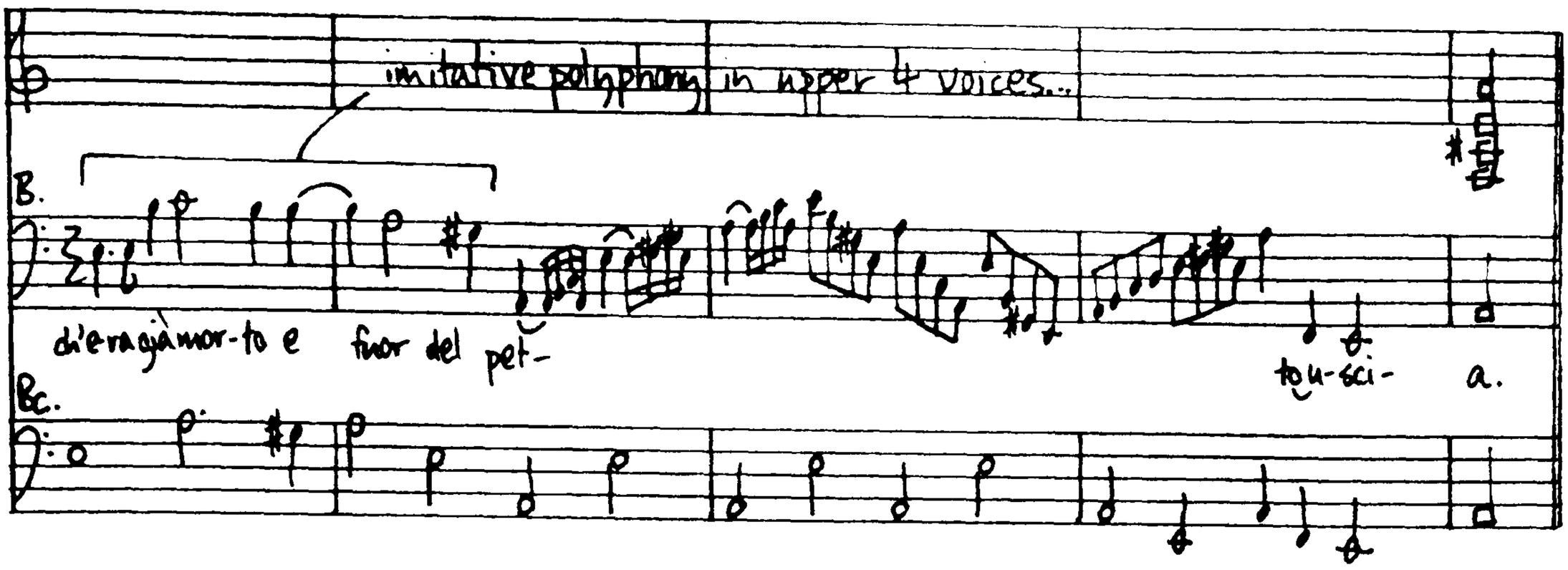
57. most other pieces make some use of triple metre.
58. Bologna in Pighi (ed.) 1976, 220, 224-5: he was *maestro di cappella* at Verona cathedral from 1658 until his death in 1685.
59. including a nine-part *romanesca* and a five-part through-composed setting with *sinfonie*.



Geronimo Bettino's *Concerti accademici* a 2-5 (Venice: Magni, 1643, NV355) bear a posthumous dedication to the Venetian local governor, written by Bettino's pupil Carlo Calzareti, *maestro* of the Accademia Filarmonica and S. Maria in Organo.[60] This book also includes four pieces by Bellante. Two of the duets are through-composed settings of canzonetta texts.[61]

Antonio Marastoni spent most of his working life as organist in small towns in the neighbourhood of Verona, such as Peschiera, at the southern tip of Lake Garda (1619) and San Bonifacio, 22km east of Verona (1628). His opus 2, the *Concerti* a 2-4 (Venice: Vincenti, 1624, NV1569.2) were published while he was employed by the counts Pompei at Illasi.[62] His opus 6 a 2-3 of 1628, published by Magni (NV1570), refers to the works as "cortesemente graditi" by the Accademici Desiosi of Cologna, near Verona. Marastoni's works are generally rather dull representatives of Veneto composition, although his style develops sufficiently from book to book to indicate that he was receptive to new ideas. He includes several instrumental pieces in the book of 1624, but makes no effort to combine instruments with voices. His choice of texts - or his patrons' choice -

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60. Bologna in Pighi (ed.) 1976, 225.
61. I have not examined the only surviving part-book.
62. he signs himself their "servitore, e compadre"; each count also contributes a composition or poem - the attribution in the book does not specify which.

is interesting, however: the book of 1624 includes seven poems by G.B. Arrigoni, while that of 1628 consists almost entirely of passages from Marino's *L'Adone*. Tomlinson has argued that Monteverdi's setting of "Armato il cor" must date from before 1624, since Marastoni's setting of that date in some ways resembles it, notably in its use of elements of the *stile concitato*:[63] while it is also possible that Marastoni derived the *stile concitato* ideas from other works, or even another composer, it certainly seems unlikely that someone still using occasional ligatures (in "Ora mi cangio") should spontaneously invent anything so dramatic.

Vicenza.

Like Verona, Vicenza also had a very active musical academy, the Olimpici, which paid and housed its own musical staff as non-voting members.[64] When it ran into financial difficulties in 1637, and appealed to Venice for assistance, it mentioned the help that Venice had already given to the Filarmonici in Verona.[65] Since the Olimpici were still in existence in 1649, when Gaspare Filippi styled himself Accademico Olimpico, it is probable that the appeal had proved successful.

Agostino Facchi was organist at Vicenza cathedral from 1624 to 1662,[66] and dedicated his second book of madrigals a 2-5 (Venice: Magni, 1636, NV900) to the abbot of San Felice in Vicenza.[67] Until 1624 Facchi was in Bologna; as late as 1636 he proudly styles himself a member of the Bolognese Filomusi. Facchi appears to have a preference for the bass

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63. Tomlinson 1987, 200.
64. Lampertico 1882, 178-80.
65. ibid., 197-9.
66. Whenham in NG, 6: 354-5.
67. the first book of madrigals is missing: there are two books of sacred music surviving, from 1624 and 1635.

voice: in his three-voice pieces, mainly for two tenors and bass, he begins with a bass solo, followed much later by the entry of the tenors - a reversal of normal Venetian practice. All the voices, but especially the bass, are treated athletically: some of the *passaggi* even include demisemiquavers, although the amount of ornamentation is naturally reduced when larger numbers of voices are brought into play. Facchi is more concerned with word-painting than many of his contemporaries, and, although his sequences sometimes become tedious, he makes more effort than many local composers to vary his melodic lines, especially through ornamentation, while his treatment of dissonance is more akin to Strozzi than to Grandi. His continuo bass moves mainly in minims but has some walking passages, and within the voice-parts he marks line endings and syntax clearly. He is sparing in his use of triple metre: "Hor che veggio", composed largely in triple time, is separately designated "aria".

Gaspare Filippi was *maestro di cappella* at Vicenza cathedral, and thus Facchi's superior, from 1634 to 1655.[68] Most of his surviving works are sacred: the Martin catalogue of 1633 lists a lost fourth book of madrigals a 2-4 of 1632. The only secular work to come down to us is the *Musiche* of 1649 (Venice: Magni, NV986),[69] which are dedicated to Carlo II Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (1629-1665). As the book's contents link it closely to the works produced in Mantua and Vienna it will be discussed further in Chapter 10.[70]

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68. Roche in NG, 6: 546-7.
69. nine of twelve part-books survive - I have not been able to examine them.
70. see 1: 226-8: no such Mantuan connection is apparent in the work of Giovan Francesco Milanta, who published a book of *concertato* madrigals as his opus 3 in 1651 (NV1847, Vincenti), while he was organist and choirmaster in Asola, a Venetian holding near Mantua. The work, dedicated to an Asolan nobleman, is divided

Other composers in the Veneto.

The poet Giovanni Battista Anselmi, a nobleman of Treviso, commissioned an extraordinary anthology of settings of his own poems. Upon its publication in 1624 (Venice: Magni, OV1624.2) he dedicated it to the mayor and "capitanio" of his city. To flatter his vanity further, prefatory poems by Camillo Nobili and Bartolomeo Locatello follow the emphatic title-page, which refers to him as "signor cavaliero Anselmi nobile di Treviso". Apart from Tarditi, then in Arezzo, the composers were from cities north of the Apennines. Most are from Venice and its surroundings: Carlo Fillago (until recently at Treviso cathedral), Grandi, Monteverdi, and Possenti came from the city itself; Silvestro Griffi, Giovanni Ghizzolo, and Turini from the Veneto. The Po Valley is represented by Alfonso Mazzoni (Ferrara), G.B. Crivelli (Ferrara or Modena) and Domenico Brunetti (Bologna); there are also contributions from Girolamo Ferrari in the Duchy of Milan and from Bartolomeo Barbarino (Pesaro or Padua). The three pieces for five voices are anonymous, which suggests a noble amateur composer.[71] Crivelli and Turini later reprinted some of their contributions in their own books.

Also in 1624, Innocentio Vivarino published his *Madrigali concertati a 2,3 et a voce con Violini, e Sinfonie per cantar nel Clavicembalo...op.6* (Venice: Vincenti, NV2953).[72] Vivarino apparently spent all his working life as organist at the cathedral of Adria, located between Rovigo and Chioggia,[73] and he dedicates the work to his bishop. Vivarino makes

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equally between madrigals and canzonettas, and is not grouped by number of voices. I have not been able to examine this book.

71. Anselmi appends his initials to his own contribution, a duet.

72. apart from this book, the only work of his to survive is a book of motets and sonatas published in 1620.

73. Bilowitzki in NG, 20: 46.

interesting use of his instruments: in "O magnanimo Alcide" the violins appear in the usual ritornelli, but "Veri spirti" is a real duet for tenor voice and "violino" notated in alto clef, in which the instrumental part is much more florid than the voice.

Carlo Milanuzzi led a surprisingly peripatetic life for an ecclesiastic.[74] He is reported to have been working in Perugia in 1619-1620: however, the dedication of his *Aurea corona* a 2-4 op. 3 (Venice: Vincenti, 1620, NV1848) refers to his patron's generosity to the church "qui in Santo Stefano", which is presumably Santo Stefano in Venice. Most of his surviving works are "ariose vaghezze", canzonettas for solo voice with guitar letters, but two books of madrigals from before 1627 appear to be lost: a second book a 2-4 and a book of "madrigali a 4 non concertati". It is just possible that the latter refers to his (surviving) edition of Nenna's first book for four voices, where Milanuzzi was responsible for adding a continuo part (Venice: Vincenti, 1621, NV2017). Only one part-book of the *Aurea corona* survives: it shows short, simple, generally syllabic settings (with central repeat signs) of texts which Milanuzzi states were chosen from the *Ghirlanda dell'Aurora*, a rare reference to a composer drawing directly on one of the poetic anthologies.

Antonio Gualtieri enjoyed a long career in Venice as *maestro di cappella* of the Ospedale della Pietà until 1650,[75] but from 1608 to 1625 he was *maestro* at the sanctuary of the Seven Churches in Monselice, in the Euganean Hills between Padua and Rovigo.[76] His madrigals a 1-3, op. 8 (Venice: Vincenti, 1625, NV1297) are dedicated to Francesco Duodo who had

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74. cf. Roche in NG, 12: 302-3.
75. Roche in NG, 7: 767-8.
76. Paganuzzi in Pighi (ed.) 1976, 204 claims that Gualtieri was brought up in Verona and lived there until 1621.

obtained the Monselice post for him: the dedication describes Duodo listening to music in Venice with "gran gusto".[77]

Although Michele Delipari came from Gallipoli, in southern Italy, the dedication of his *I Baci* a 2-4 (Venice: Magni, 1630, NV702), published while he was *maestro di cappella* at the collegiate church of Pieve di Sacco, near Padua, refers to the links between himself, his dedicatee Bernardo Soranzo, and their respective uncles: pieces by Delipari's uncle Donat'Antonio Cuti are included to demonstrate "la servitù ch'ambi di vivo core tenemo con la sua Ill.ma casa".[78] The title, *I Baci*, is derived from Marino's most famous canzone, a setting of part of which opens the book: two other settings of Marino are included. There are also three poems by Guarini, one by Contarini and one possibly by Testi. The book consists mainly of duets, nearly all for equal voices. Delipari's sequences are generally short and varied, as are his note-values in declamation: in "Rubinetti vivaci" he uses so many declamatory semiquavers that he puts bar-lines into the vocal parts to make the notation clearer to the eye.

"Queste, Lilla gentile" shows this lively declamation and wide range of note-values:[79] the imaginative handling of rhythm extends to a motif on "voi" in which a minim is tied to a dotted crotchet. His florid ornamentation is strengthened by well-defined shapes, and he produces varied melodies independent of word-painting. The bass is slow-moving unless it is linked with the vocal bass, and there is little dissonance except in passing.

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77. The book survives incomplete and the works do not appear to be very interesting: the only other surviving book recorded is his op. 6 of 1613.
78. "the service which both of us heartily maintain with your house".
79. see Appendix E, 2: 122-6.

Giovanni Pasta's *Affetti d'Erato, 1 a 2-4...con alcune Arie nel fine da cantarsi a voce sola* (Venice: Vincenti, 1626, NV2148) were published early in his eight years of employment as organist at S. Alessandro in Colonna in Bergamo.[80] Pasta came from and later returned to Milan, and this book includes two texts, attributed by him to Lodovico Piazzoli, which were later set by the Milanese composer Grancini. Pasta also sets two poems of his own: since the print gives two voices of one of these as "Vanne *mesto* profan" and two as "Vanne *mostro* profan" it is unlikely that Pasta was able to supervise the printing, although the dedication is dated, conventionally, from Venice. The settings seem to strive unduly for effect, using rather awkward arpeggiated figures; at the same time, the declamatory rhythm is unimaginative, repeatedly falling into a pattern of a minim followed by four quavers.

A more exciting figure in Bergamo was the "cavalier" Tarquinio Merula, who, after several years at the Polish court which saw the publication of his two books of 1624,[81] divided the remainder of his career between Cremona and S. Maria Maggiore, Bergamo.[82] His *Madrigali et altre musiche concertate a 1 2 3 4 5 voci, libro secondo...op. 10* (Venice: Magni, 1633/1635, NV1826-8) are dedicated to Cosimo Borbone, Venetian governor of Bergamo. Most of this book consists of madrigals, in which, however, a growing tendency to stylisation is evident: "Belle ha le perle" provides a good example of this, with its minimal word-painting, repeated halves, sequential motifs, steady declamatory rhythm, and root-position harmonies.[83] Merula also includes several settings of strophic verse, some with ritornelli, and some set as canzonettas; two non-strophic texts

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80. Fortune in NG, 14: 286.
81. NV1823-4, 1825; see also Chapter 10, 1: 219-20.
82. Bonta in NG, 12: 191-3.
83. see Appendix E, 2: 174-8.

are set over bass formulae (*ciaccona* and "Tra tutte"); and there are also two "scherzi" based upon tables of Latin declensions, which were favoured items in subsequent English manuscripts.

Giovanni Antonio Rigatti's op. 2, *Musiche concertate cioè Madrigali a 2.3.4. con basso continuo* (Venice: Magni, 1636, NV2345), was written while he held his first important post as *maestro di cappella* at Udine, 1635-37.[84] The dedication offers these "primitie del mio pronto servitio" to an entire local authority, the Convocation of the city;[85] he does not give any clearer indication of what function these pieces may have served. #-signs have been added in MS to the copy now in Wrocław: it is uncertain whether these are a form of correction after printing or whether they were inserted by performers. The book follows the usual Venetian system of grouping by number of voices: nine duets (including a canzonetta), three trios and three quartets (including a *romanesca* setting). Several pieces have sections in triple metre and also tempo indications.

"Ecco che pur baciate",[86] first set in Obizzi's op. 2 of 1627, is possibly the most striking piece, with an unusual triple-metre opening emphasising the subsequent change in mood. The continuo line is unusually active, with rising scales in the triple-time section and its own contrapuntal line for "ma che punte mordaci". The standard devices for word-painting are here exaggerated, probably with tongue in cheek; notable examples are the furious activity on the word "strali" and the rising chromatic lines for "amare son le tue dolcezze". Rigatti also exploits irrational rhythms for affective purposes, such as the minim displaced by a quaver for "ah".

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84. Roche in NG, 16: 14-5.
85. "first fruits of my ready service".
86. see Appendix E, 2: 230-3.

Conclusion.

The Venetian madrigal style is influenced by a combination of infrequent but lavish local patronage and the requirements of a publishing market: this results in a tendency for Venetian books to become streamlined and somewhat stereotyped, although contact with outside patrons, and perhaps attempts to compete with opera, produce some notable exceptions. In the Veneto, although the Venetian style is dominant, a wider range of local conditions prompts a greater variety of works.

CHAPTER 10: THE VIENNA-MANTUA CONNECTION

North of the Alps, the madrigal was cultivated by more magnificent patrons than it generally found in Italy. As a result, it tended to develop in a different direction. Particularly notable is the development of new forms and styles at the Viennese court, which had close links with Mantua: these developments appear to have had a profound influence upon the later madrigals of Monteverdi. Before investigating the Vienna-Mantua connection, however, it is worth looking at madrigal patronage in other centres north of the Alps.

The Italian madrigal in Germany and Poland.

Several madrigalists were active at courts in Germany and Poland: most of these also had some measure of contact with the Habsburg courts in Austria. Biagio Marini's activities at Neuburg, and his claim to have served Ferdinand II, have already been mentioned in Chapter 8. A more elusive figure in German circles is Allegro Porto "ebreo". The dedicatee of his *Nuove musiche a 3* (1619, NV2258), "il signor conte Alfonso di Portia primo cameriere dell'altezza serenissima di Baviera",[1] was probably the brother of Giovanni Sforza, "conte di Portia", to whom his next work, the first book a 5, NV2256 [Venice: ?Magni, 1622], is dedicated. Although the latter dedication is dated from Trieste, it seems likely that Porto was still at the Bavarian court when working for Giovanni, who appears to have written or selected all the texts for the book:

> ...havendo lei (mentre alli giorni passati mi ritrovavo in casa sua) degnata di confidarmi alcune sue Poetiche compositioni imponendomi che le devessi ridurre in Musica...con alcuni altri Madrigali cavati del

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1. "count Alfonso of Portia, first chamberlain of the serene highness of Bavaria".

Prologo della favola Boscareccia detta il Pastor Vedovo opera del Signor Dionisio Rondinelli...[2]

A link with Vienna is apparent in Porto's second book a 5, which adds continuo (Venice: Magni, 1625, NV2257); it is dedicated to Ferdinand II, and concludes with a piece for three voices and two cornetti, a combination used for madrigals only at the Viennese court. That four of the texts should have concordances with recent works by del Negro also suggests some connection with Milan.[3]

Other keen patrons of the madrigal could be found at the Polish court in Warsaw: Tarquinio Merula was employed there from 1624 to 1626 by King Sigismund III (the dedicatee of his op. 5) as organist "di chiesa e camera", and concurrently by the crown prince, Vladislav Sigismund, as "servitore, e musico di camera".[4] His *Madrigaletti a 3 da potersi cantare con l'istromento, [o] senza* (Venice: Vincenti, 1624, NV1823) have no figured bass: instead, the "basso principale" part is a score of the three voices with partial text underlay. Most of the pieces are through-composed settings of canzonetta texts, written in an athletic, but not declamatory, style.[5] The Opus 5 madrigals a 4-8, also of 1624 (NV1825), are truer to the genre, although several pieces use repeats: the piece for eight voices employs two choirs in antiphonal effects. Merula has a curious link with the court in Vienna: Giovanni Valentini, "maestro di

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2. "...you having (while in the past days I was in your house) deigned to entrust to me some of your poetic compositions, commanding me to set them to music...with a few other madrigals extracted from the prologue of the woodland tale called the Widowed Shepherd, a work by D. Rondinelli...".
3. To judge from their surname, the counts of Portia probably originated in Milan: I have been unable, however, to trace the location of Portia.
4. a more detailed account of Merula's activities, with transcriptions and facsimiles of some of these works, is given by Vecchi 1977.
5. The 1642 reprint (NV1824) adds bass figuring and also several "madrigali concertati".

cappella della maestà cesarea", contributed a prefatory sonnet to Merula's *Satiro e Corisca* in 1626.[6]

Vladislav Sigismund had come to the throne by the time Marco Scacchi's *Madrigali a cinque, concertati da cantarsi su gli stromenti* (Venice: Magni, 1634, NV2570) were published. Scacchi may have returned to Warsaw with Vladislav after the latter's visit to Rome in 1625. In dedicating this work to Ferdinand II, Scacchi refers to his employer as Ferdinand's "nipote" (which normally means nephew or grandchild but may mean any junior relative). Scacchi follows Roman principles in setting each line of text to a distinct motif, but his counterpoint is somewhat disjointed: the appearances of each voice are brief, and separated by long rests.

The Habsburg predilection for Italian music.

None of the courts mentioned above appears to have maintained a complete ensemble of Italian musicians of the type which flourished at the Habsburg courts in Austria. Ferdinand II had travelled extensively in Italy in his youth, and had built up an Italian establishment at Graz which moved with him to Vienna on his accession in 1619.[7] The anthology *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandeus* of 1615 included works by Giovanni Priuli and Giovanni Valentini, who remained in Ferdinand's service, and also by Monteverdi.[8] Table 1, p. 221, lists some instances of direct Habsburg patronage of the Italian madrigal.

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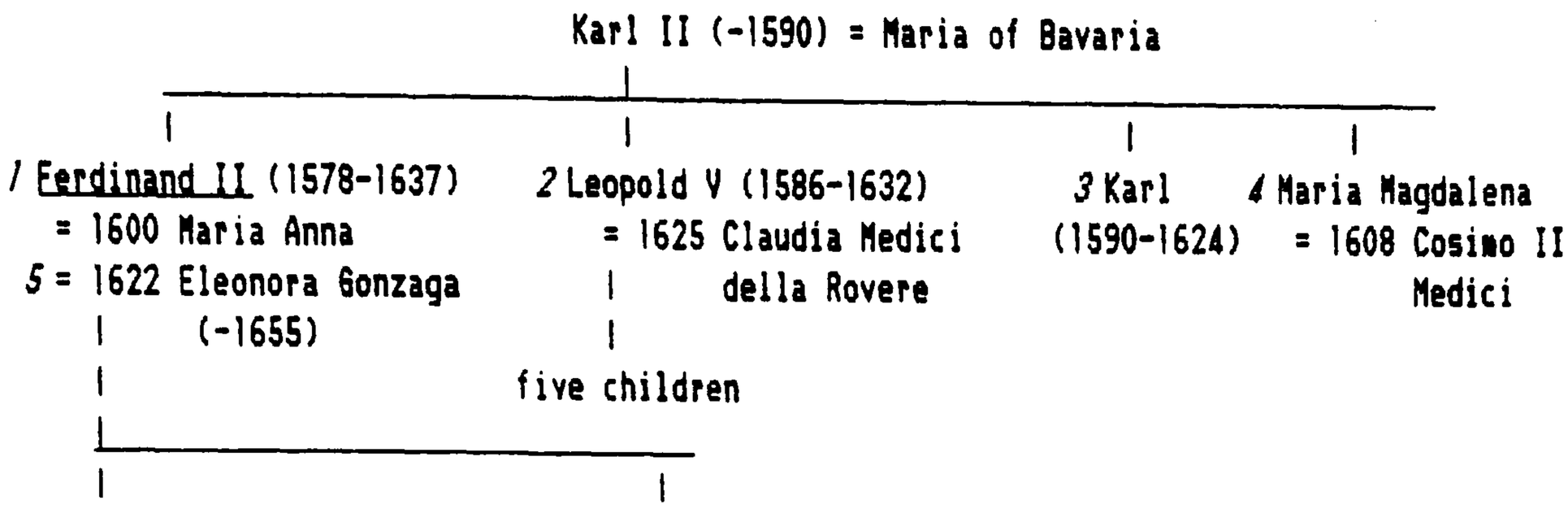
6. Vecchi 1977, 141: this is the only reference I have come across to Valentini as *maestro di cappella* before Priuli's death in 1629: Roche in NG, 15: 276-7 "Priuli", refers to Valentini taking over the position in 1622, but Valentini (NV2782) still describes himself as organist in 1625. Köchel 1869, 39, gives Priuli as *Hofkapellmeister* from 1619 to 1629, Valentini from 1630 to 1649.
7. cf. Einstein 1934I.
8. Federhofer 1955, 167.

Table 1: THE HABSBURGS



1 received dedications from **Allegro Porto** (1625), **Pietro Francesco Garzi** (1629) and **Marco Scacchi** (1634), and employed **Giovanni Priuli** (1612-29), **Giovanni Valentini** (before 1619-post 1637), **G.B. Locatello** (1628), P.F. Garzi (1629-40) and **Gio. Giacomo Arrigoni** (1635-40). **Monteverdi** states in his Book 8 (1638) that Ferdinand had seen at least some of the book in manuscript.

2 received dedications from **Galeazzo Sabbatini** (1626) and **Martino Pesenti** (1628). He and his son **Sigismund Franz** kept a notable library of Italian music at Innsbruck.

3 dedicatee of **Stefano Bernardi**'s *3 a 6*, 1624.

4 dedicatee of **Giovanni Valentini**'s *4 a 2-6*, 1621.

5 dedicatee of **Giovanni Priuli**'s *Delicie musicali*, 1625 and **Monteverdi**, *Selva morale*, 1640.

6 employed **Domenico dal Pane** (1650-54), **Valentini, Garzi** and **Arrigoni,** and received dedications from **G.B. Locatello** (1628), Arrigoni (1635), **Monteverdi** (1638) and dal Pane (1652).

7 dedicatee of **Biagio Marini**'s *Concerto terzo...*, 1649.

Such patronage was not confined to Vienna: the court library at Innsbruck built up under Archduke Leopold and his heir included a high proportion of the output of the Venetian presses in the 1620s and 1630s and a few later items such as the Rovetta madrigals. There were also large numbers of earlier madrigal books and Gino Angelo Capponi's book of 1640, which had been published in Rome (NV486). Romans were, in fact, well represented among Italian musicians working in Austria. Antimo Liberati recalls being at Ferdinand III's court in the time of Valentini and

Bertali,[9] although he was himself employed by Leopold Wilhelm:[10] he also states that Antonio Cifra had been *maestro di cappella* to the Archduke Karl.[11] Later, Domenico dal Pane spent several years in Vienna (c.1650-1654).[12]

An important factor in the Habsburgs' love of Italian music was probably their close kinship with several leading Italian families, most notably the Gonzagas. Personal links between the Mantuan and Viennese courts were strong and influential: the family trees in Tables 1 and 2 (p. 221, 223) show some of the ties between Habsburg and Gonzaga, and there were also links between their musicians. In his history of music at the Mantuan court, Bertolotti quotes several letters from musicians in Vienna which show a first- or second-hand knowledge of the musical life of Mantua. Those from Valentini and Priuli to the Duke of Mantua concern their dedication of works to him in 1622, when his sister Eleonora married Ferdinand II. Priuli explains why he could not present his volume in person:

> ...havendo io preso ardire di consacrarle questi miei Madrigali...havevo rissolutione in me di trasferirmi costì a presentarglieli personalmente dovendo io ancora passarmene in Italia per mio voto alla Santissima Casa. Ma perchè la lunghezza di questa Dieta mi ha data causa di diferire il mio viaggio che spero però di effettuare in breve et con il signor Campagnolo [a Mantuan singer] che qui si trova con molto gusto delle Maestà loro et mio particolare: ho voluto intanto inviare a V.A. Serenissima i Madrigali...

Much later, in 1641, Valentini writes to thank another duke of Mantua, Carlo II Gonzaga, for a medal and chain which had been sent to him.[13]

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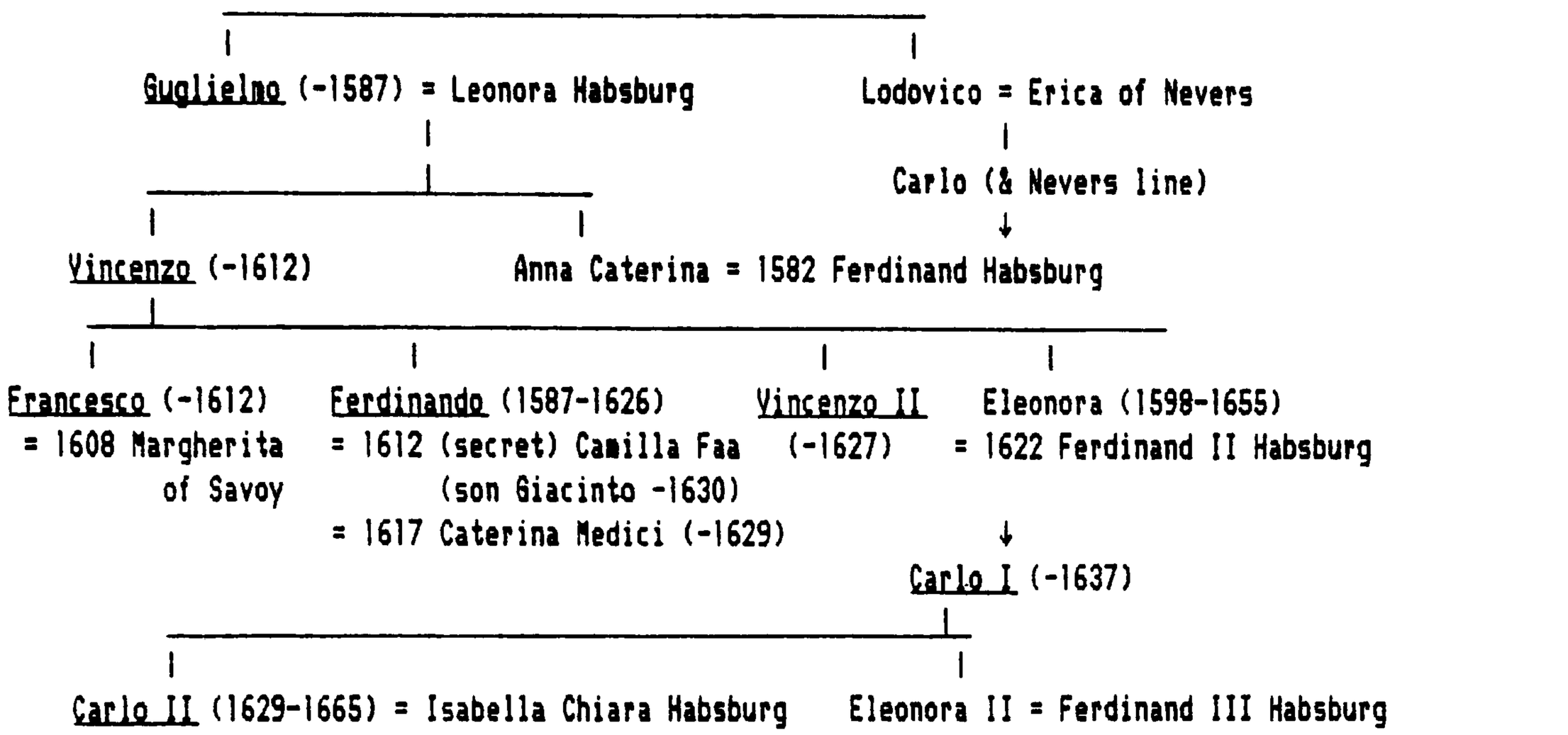
9. Liberati 1685, 52.
10. Antonicek in NG, 19: 717 "Vienna".
11. Liberati 1685, 25.
12. Witzenmann in NG, 5: 167-8.
13. Bertolotti 1890, 99-101: "I, having dared to consacrate these madrigals of mine to you..., had resolved to come to present them to you personally, as I had to travel to Italy because of my vow to the Holy House [at Loreto]. But because the length of this Diet has caused me to defer my journey, which I hope however to carry out shortly with Campagnolo, who is here much to their

Table 2: GONZAGA: DUKES OF MANTUA



From the Mantuan end, the dedication of Francesco Dognazzi's *Musiche varie da camera a 5* (Magni, 1643, NV842) to Carlo II Gonzaga (written by his chancellor, Francesco Bulgarini) states that, in forty years of service at the Mantuan court, Dognazzi had made the musical inclinations of seven Gonzaga dukes famous in both Italy and Germany.[14]

The madrigal in Mantua.

This connection between the two courts assumed particular importance when musical activity at the Mantuan court was disrupted by the conflict over the succession during the 1620s and 1630s (Dognazzi's forty years of continuous service to the household must indeed have been remarkable). The war of the succession made it impossible for Mantua to escape completely the general tendency of once-illustrious provincial courts,

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Majesties' pleasure and mine in particular, I wished in the meantime to send the madrigals to Your Most Serene Highness...". For a biography of Francesco Campagnolo see Stevens (ed. & trans.) 1980, 305.

14. "...che quarant'anni di servitù continuata hà reso famoso in Italia, et in Germania, il musico Genio di sette Duchi di questa serenissima Casa...". I only know of six (Table 2 above).

such as Ferrara and Modena, to fall into decline.[15] In 1615 a Venetian ambassador was able to report from Mantua that Ferdinando Gonzaga had "tre donne cantatrici ancora, veramente singolari, che sonano e cantano per eccellenza",[16] and the Mantuan court continued to ply Monteverdi with commissions well into the 1620s: Valentini refers in his letter to Mantua of 1622 to the court's "eccellenti cantatrici et rari cantanti".[17] However, by 1630 singers such as Margherita Basile had taken refuge in Vienna, and of the four madrigal-books originating in the Mantuan area between 1620 and 1655, only two are by composers living in Mantua itself.

All part-books but one for each of the Mantuan madrigal-books of the 1620s have been lost, perhaps as a result of the sack of the city in 1630, when several manuscript works by Monteverdi also seem to have perished. Neither of their Gonzaga dedicatees came from the ducal line of the family. Salomone Rossi's fifth book for five voices and continuo (Venice: Vincenti, 1622, NV2456) is dedicated to "Francesco Lodovico Gonzaga", probably Lodovico Francesco, 1602-1630, who was made a Cavaliere del Redentore in 1623.[18] The book is divided between works with a *basso seguente* and "Madrigali concertati" where the continuo has some degree of independence: there is also a canzonetta with a periodic bass line.[19] Orazio Modiana was *maestro di cappella* at Guastalla on the south side of the Po and "Il Pellegrino" in the Accademia de' Filomeni of Casalmaggiore, about ten miles to the east on the other side: his *Filomenici concenti* a 2-5 op. 3 (Venice: Vincenti, 1625, NV1868) are

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15. at least in this period: Surian in NG 12: 450-51 outlines the remarkable recovery made by Modena later in the century.
16. Fabbri 1985, 206: "still three singing ladies, truly singular, who play and sing excellently".
17. Bertolotti 1890, 99: "excellent female singers and rare male singers".
18. see Appendix A, 2: 12.
19. Rossi's book of duets of 1628, NV2443, does survive intact.

dedicated to Cesare Gonzaga, prince of Guastalla, who had also been the dedicatee of Merula's motets of 1624. Cesare had acted as an Imperial ambassador, and later died in Vienna;[20] the pun in Modiana's dedication upon "la sua cesarea liberalità" may reflect appreciation of his Habsburg connections as well as his name, while one of the madrigals, "Nuncie di vera vita le vostr'aquile belle",[21] refers to other members of Cesare's family in terms associated with the Imperial eagle.

No more Mantuan madrigals were published until the new Gonzaga line had firmly established itself. The dedication to Carlo II Gonzaga of Francesco Dognazzi's *Musiche varie da camera a cinque* (Venice: Magni, 1643, NV842) has already been mentioned: the collection is an interesting one, including several pieces with violins and other fashionable features such as vocal refrains and triple metres (including 3/1, 6/4 and 3/4). Four of the texts are by Rinuccini, long associated with Mantua, and others have concordances with works by Salamone Rossi and with Giovanni Priuli.

An even more interesting book is Francesco Vignali's madrigals a 2-4 op. 1 (Venice: Vincenti, 1640, NV2903), despite its servile dedication to the "duca di Sabioneta, prencipe di Bozzolo de marchesi di Mantoa, marchese di Ostiano, conte di Pomponesco, etc., ambas. ordinario per S.M. ces. a N.S. et alla Santa Apost. Sede":

> Al Prencipe come Dio sostituito al governo di questa bassa mole dobbiamo le primitie di tutte quelle cose, che servono per ornamento, e per la di lui grandezza. A V.E. donque dedico le primitie del mio

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20. Larson 1985, 897-8.
21. "your fair eagles, heralds of true life".

> basso ingegno per obbligatione più di vassallo, che per ostentatione...[22]

Scipione Gonzaga (1596-1670) appears, in fact, to have been unusually touchy on matters of honour and greatness: his title of duke of Sabbioneta was an empty one, and he lived at Bozzolo, with Vignali nearby at Rivarolo. In the years 1635 to 1641, however, he enjoyed such Imperial appointments as ambassador to Rome and representative at the Diet of Ratisbon: Vignali's works therefore date from a period of particularly close contact between his patron and the court in Vienna.[23a]

Many of Vignali's texts are taken from the usual anthologies, although they include some unusual choices. His setting of Tasso's "Qual cavalier ardito",[23b] for example, captures much of the humour and polish of Monteverdi's "Gira il nemico". Within a style characterised by lively rhythm and simple, tuneful vocal lines, Vignali achieves a vivid characterisation of both knightly pomposity and the mischievous mosquito: his triple-time aria writing is positively gleeful. This is only one aspect of Vignali's writing: he also tackled several pieces from Marino's *Sampogna*, including "Silentio o fauni" and "Uscite o gemiti", earlier set by Valentini.[24]

It is also worth discussing here Gaspare Filippi's *Musiche* of 1649 (NV986) which, although composed in Vicenza, appear to have been

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22. "Duke of Sabioneta, prince of Bozzolo of the marquesses of Mantua, marquis of Ostiano, count of Pomponesco, etc., ambassador in ordinary for His Imperial Majesty to Our Lord and to the Holy Apostolic Seat: to the Prince as God's substitute in the government of this low mass we owe the first fruits of all those things which serve for ornament, and for his greatness. To you, therefore, I dedicate the first fruits of my low talent more for my obligation as a vassal, than for ostentation...".

23a. see Appendix A, 2: 12.

23b. The only other setting of this text is that by Gherardini of 1585 (see Vassalli 1988, 83), beginning "Quasi cavalier...".

24. see 1: 230, below: unfortunately I know this book only from an incomplete microfilm, and hence cannot provide transcriptions.

commissioned by the Mantuan court. The book is on an even more colossal scale than Monteverdi's eighth book of a decade earlier, with 37 pieces in twelve part-books. Besides nine sonatas for three to five instruments, there are two sequences of vocal music. One sequence comprises twelve madrigals a 5 "senza violini": the other includes three settings for four voices with instruments (two violins and two or three "viole") and five pieces for six voices, one of which adds two violins and four "viole". The texts also divide into two camps. Those of the five-voice madrigals are amorous texts in madrigal form. Although these include three popular Guarini lyrics, the remainder are more unusual: Testi's "O prodighi di fiamme" had been set once previously by Michelangelo Rossi, while the rest are unique settings, including poems by Achillini (published 1632) and Maia Materdona (published 1629) - a sophisticated and up-to-date selection.

The book opens with the pieces for scorings other than five voices, all of which are unique settings, except for "O che vaghi gelsomini", which had been set by Rigatti in 1641. The identifiable texts comprise: four from Casoni's odes; four from Testi's canzoni or odes (first published in 1627); one sonnet by Preti; and one "moral" sonnet by Marino. A few of these texts are, like those of the five-voice madrigals, purely amorous, but most have a political function. Testi's "O ristoro del mondo" which receives the most lavish setting, for six voices and six instruments, praises a ruler, either earthly or divine: other texts of an elevated nature refer to classical gods and mythical pastoral figures such as Vulcan, Neptune, Clori and Lilibeo, while the pieces for four voices and five instruments set poems about Erminia and Ruggiero by Casoni and Testi respectively. Such a profusion of heroes and gods must surely indicate "public" pieces intended to reinforce a prince's prestige. Other

texts refer more directly to Carlo II: the book opens with a solo madrigal addressed to the "Arbore della Casa Gonzaga", justifying his father's controversial succession to Mantua, which had provoked the Imperial invasion; the madrigal "per la Nascita di S.A.S.", for six voices and four instruments, presumably celebrates Carlo II's attainment of majority and succession to his inheritance in 1645. It is possible that some of these pieces are intended also as wedding music:[25] in any case, the choice of texts raises the probability that such works were ordered for Mantua and composed as "outside" commissions.

The Viennese court.

A letter to Mantua from G.B. Rubini in 1631 describes the "musica piccola di camera" which performed at dinner at the Viennese court: it consisted of "la signora Margherita e la Lucia mia signora, Don Francesco nostro et un giovane veronese organista et mio fratello et io".[26] "La signora Margherita" is evidently Margherita Basile, who was formerly at Mantua and was to have sung the title role in Monteverdi's *La finta pazza Licori* in 1627: she and Lucia Rubini are both recorded at the Vienna court throughout the 1630s.[27] It seems likely that the "young Veronese organist" was Antonio Bertali, who eventually succeeded Valentini as *Hofkapellmeister*, 1649-1669.[28]

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25. I have not yet been able to trace the date of Carlo II's marriage to Isabella Chiara Habsburg.
26. Bertolotti 1890, 103: "Signora Margherita and my wife Lucia, our Don Francesco and a young Veronese organist and my brother and I".
27. Knaus 1967, 41, 43.
28. Köchel 1869, 39. The inclusion of the cornetto in madrigal-books by Priuli and Valentini may possibly be connected with the Rubinis, if they were relatives of the virtuoso cornettist Nicolò Rubini (1584-1625: see Fortune in NG, 16: 296-7): the only composer in Italy to include the cornetto (in separate pieces, 1621) is Bernardi: see 1: 206-7, 2: 22. Allegro Porto's use of cornetti in a book dedicated to Ferdinand II has also been noted above, p. 219.

While the "small chamber music" at court thus apparently consisted of five voices and continuo, the composers at the Viennese court frequently make use of larger forces in their publications. Valentini, Priuli, Locatello and Arrigoni employ combinations of six or seven voices with additional instruments, which result in references to compositions "a 9". Other compositions on such a large scale occur almost exclusively in books dedicated to members of the ruling houses of Austria, the German states, Poland and Mantua.

The size of the performing forces is certainly a striking feature, but the Vienna madrigal style is not just an inflated version of that of Venice. The use of such a large ensemble encourages composers to experiment with a variety of textures, resulting in more repetition of texts and longer works. Eventually the Viennese composers move towards musical means of construction, instead of following the text and letting the form look after itself; they also favour texts longer than the madrigal which have a clear structure of their own, such as canzonettas or sonnets. One instance of the development of such non-madrigal forms is that of the canzone, the most striking examples of which were composed in Vienna.[29] Some Viennese composers, notably Arrigoni, also make extensive use of bass patterns and dance-rhythms: Arrigoni's *Concerti* of 1635 (NV170) include *ciaccona*, *passacaglia* and *pass'e mezzo* basses. Such forms were also emerging in Italy at this time, especially in the "madrigal" books of Martino Pesenti - who, as we have seen, had links with the Habsburgs through their Venetian ambassador - but the Italian versions were usually less ambitious in scoring.

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29. see above, p. 18, for definition: a fine example is Priuli's "Chiudete l'orecchie" in Einstein (ed.) 1934.

A less felicitous example of the Viennese search for new texts in new forms is found in Giovanni Valentini's book of 1621 (NV2785), which contains the first settings of two unusual Marino texts, "Silentio o fauni" and "Uscite o gemiti", both extracted from idylls in *La Sampogna* (1620). "Silentio" was later set by Grandi, "Uscite" by Valentini's colleague Arrigoni, and both by Vignali. The texts selected are long monologues in regular lines which have emphatic rhythms (five- and six-syllable - *quinari* and *quinari sdruccioli* respectively). The repetitive rhythm and lack of contrast in mood create great difficulties for the composers. "Silentio" is Bacchus' reflection as he gazes at the sleeping Ariadne: this quasi-lullaby is set by Valentini as a recitation sung "senza battuta", and by Vignali in a rocking triple time. "Uscite o gemiti" - Pan's lament on the transformation of Syrinx - presents even greater problems: it is not only long and unchanging in mood but is entirely in *quinari sdruccioli*, a distinctive rhythm with no flexibility of accent. Both Valentini and Vignali try to overcome the relentless rhythm by frequently changing the metre between C, 3/2 and 6/4: Arrigoni prefers not to fight against it and sets the whole text as a *ciaccona*.

Perhaps more radical than the search for new formal structures in the works of the Viennese composers is the increasing organisation of individual vocal lines in ways dictated by musical logic, not by the meaning of the text. By this, I do not refer to the use of stereotyped formulae or short declamatory motives organised in sequences, which we have seen in Venice, but to the creation of melodies shaped independently of the text, which are sometimes more instrumental than vocal in character. These are particularly apparent in the Arrigoni *Concerti* and also in some of Monteverdi's late works. An extreme case is the "moral" madrigal "Voi ch'ascoltate" from the latter's *Selva morale e spirituale*

(1640, NV1955 - dedicated to the Empress Eleanora), where the same simple melodic phrase is modified and re-used for almost every line of text.

Composers at the Viennese court.

Ferdinand III was himself a keen composer in the Italian style, and a number of his works have been preserved, thanks to Kircher, including a four-voice madrigal, "Chi volge nella mente". This piece, written before 1650, alternates short sections in common time with long *arioso* sections in triple time: the harmony is straightforward apart from an "enharmonic" shift between B-major and C-minor triads.[30]

Rubini's reference (p. 228) to "Don Francesco nostro" may conceivably indicate Pietro Francesco Garzi, although the title-page of his *Madrigali e canzonette a 2-5*, op. 3 (Venice: Magni, 1629, NV1059) gives no evidence of the ecclesiastical status which the "Don" implies: he describes himself simply as a Florentine musician to Ferdinand II, his dedicatee. The idea that he may have been a member of the "small chamber music" is, however, supported by the fact that, unlike the other court musicians of the 1620s-1630s, his published work shows a strong preference for a five-voice madrigal ensemble with continuo; he provides only a few settings for two to four voices. Garzi is not as ambitious as his colleagues, and perhaps shows the influence of his home city, Florence. Most of the pieces are madrigals without melodic instruments, although there are ritornelli for two violins in the few canzonettas. The vocal lines range from very simple to heavily embellished with such standard figures as dotted *passaggi*: Garzi also uses the normal devices of word-painting,

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30. Kircher 1650, 1: 685-689: Adler (ed.) 1892-93.

such as rising chromaticism for pain, rests in the middle of words for sighs, and so forth. The authors who have been traced include Guarini, Caccianemici, Tasso, Villifranchi and Chiabrera: there are no texts by Marino, and Chiabrera is represented only by an almost ludicrously poor madrigal, "Occhi, voi sospirate e fontane di lagrime spargete".[31]

Giovanni Priuli (Venice 1575 - Vienna 1629) was Ferdinand II's *maestro di cappella* from the Graz years.[32] With Valentini, he appears to have been largely responsible for shaping the Viennese style. The first book that he published after crossing the Alps, the *Musiche concertate* of 1622 (Venice: Magni, NV2283), which was dedicated to Ferdinand Gonzaga, is now lost, but we know that many of the texts were in fixed, but not strophic, forms, such as sonnets and *ottave*, while his scorings ranged from "a 2" to "a 9". From his subsequent book, *Delicie musicali* (Venice: Magni, 1625, NV2279), it appears likely that the larger forces mentioned include instruments: typical combinations in this book are "a 7" meaning four voices and three instruments, "a 8", for six voices and two instruments, and "a 9", for six voices and three instruments. The most ambitious scoring in the *Delicie* does, however, use eight voices, as well as three instruments (for "Chiudete l'orecchie"). The instruments are in many cases described as optional.[33]

A striking difference between the *Delicie* and the earlier *Musiche* is in the choice of poetic form. The *Musiche* contained few texts that would not have been suitable for madrigal setting, although of course Priuli may have interpolated ritornelli. In the dedication of the *Delicie* to the

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31. "eyes, you sigh, and scatter fountains of tears".
32. Roche in NG, 15: 276-7.
33. "a beneplacito": see also Appendix B, 2: 24.

Empress, however, Priuli refers to the pieces as "queste mie Canzonette", and all the pieces edited by Biales are strophic, apart from "Belle treccie inanellate" which is through-composed with ritornelli. However, the elaborate settings and lavish scoring, which continually changes, set many of these pieces very much apart from the Italian canzonetta and render them barely distinguishable from through-composed canzoni. "Pastorella vaga e bella", for example, has nine strophes set for three voices and instruments arranged as follows: in triple metre, ritornello; strophe for each voice, then tutti; ritornello; strophe for each voice, then tutti; ritornello; then a common time "finale" for all voices and instruments which includes *passaggi* and even semiquaver triplets.

The canzone and dialogue edited by Einstein are the most elaborate pieces in the book,[34] and involve the most lavish scorings. "Chiudete l'orecchie", a largely triple-time setting of a text in *quinari* (plain and *sdruccioli*) is through-composed with ritornelli: on the other hand, "Presso un fiume tranquillo", Priuli's setting of the popular Marino dialogue-madrigal, for six voices, violin, cornetto, "viola" and continuo, is in common time throughout and manages to expand the madrigal almost beyond recognition while abiding largely by its "rules".[35] The opening words are sung by all voices to simple, declamatory lines in imitative texture: this texture breaks into a series of duet *passaggi* accommodating the only word-painting, on "onde" ("waves"). Then the piece turns into dialogue, with small groups of voices introducing each speech by Filena (canto) and Eurillo (tenor); the rousing conclusion incorporates all voices and instruments. Several melodic elements continue to make themselves heard throughout the piece, helping to maintain coherence within the expanded

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34. Einstein (ed.) 1934.
35. Whether the opening ritornello should be repeated between sections is not indicated.

structure. Apart from the *passaggi* on "onde", the solo sections have melodies as simple as those of the tuttis, although they may have been embellished by performers. The harmony is very consonant and does not indulge in unexpected progressions: it remains in F major virtually throughout.[36] The cadences occur generally at the end of each line of text: the deliberate way in which they are approached and the frequency of spondaic line endings (with pairs of minims) suggest the influence of dance music. The melodies given to violin, cornetto and voices are not differentiated.

Giovanni Valentini (Venice c.1582 - Vienna 1649) has been mentioned above as one of those who moved from Graz to Vienna with Ferdinand II on his accession in 1619. Valentini's *Musiche concertate a 6-10* (Venice: Magni, 1619, NV2784) were dated from Vienna but apparently before Ferdinand's Imperial coronation, as the latter is referred to as King of Hungary and Bohemia, not Emperor. The works in this book already show a love of large forces, although the numbering "a 6-10" includes instruments; the pieces "a 9", for example, are scored for six voices, "cornetino o violino", [violin],[37] "basso di viola" and continuo.[38]

Although all pieces in this book include instruments, there are two basic types: through-composed strophic pieces, set mainly in triple time, with distinct instrumental ritornelli; and madrigals, with only brief triple-time sections, where the instrumental parts are largely integrated with the vocal texture. It is interesting to see that it is the second type

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36. or Ionian on F: whether it appears tonal or modal in character will depend on how many accidentals the editor wishes to suggest.
37. this part-book is missing, so its contents are conjectural.
38. see Appendix E, 2: 300-10.

which disappears: in his next book, *Musiche da camera Libro Quarto a 2-6, parte concertate con voci sole, et parte con voci, et istrumenti* (Venice: Vincenti, 1621, NV2785),[39] he uses the instruments on their own in sonatas or ritornelli, combining them with voices only in the finales of certain pieces: this is also the way Priuli deploys them. With our warped view of musical evolution we tend to think of the integration of voices and instruments as highly "progressive", but it would appear that to Valentini the way forward lay, instead, in the establishment of formal divisions and the development of distinctive instrumental material. Most of the later book consists of settings of Marino: ten out of fifteen texts, including madrigals, sonnets, canzoni and the two idylls already noted. There are also several canzonetta texts, some of them set to bass-patterns or dance-rhythms, which include the *pass'e mezzo*, *gagliarda*, *romanesca* and *Ruggiero*.

Valentini's fifth book (Venice: Vincenti, 1625, NV2782), dedicated to the Imperial ambassador to Rome, is divided into three sections in a manner similar to that used by the Roman Mazzocchi in 1638.[40] The "scherzi" for six voices include a singing lesson, "Ut re mi fa sol la mi fa languire", and a boating scene, "Entro a i Veneti canali, oè barca", while the unaccompanied madrigals for six voices are the only *a cappella* madrigals to emerge from Vienna in this period - probably a concession to Savelli's Roman origins and environment. The publisher, Vincenti, finds them so foreign to Venetian taste that he adds a note:

> Il Stampatore a' lettori. Se bene l'intentione dell'Auttore è, che questa Terza Parte de Madrigali a 6 sia cantata senza accompagnamento

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39. dedicated to the Emperor's sister.
40. *Il quinto libro de Madrigali diviso in tre parti. Nella prima si contegono Madrigali a tre concertati con l'istromento. Nella seconda Scherzi a sei concertati con l'istromento. Nella terza Madrigali a sei per cantarsi senza istromento.*

d'Istromento alcuno; nientedimeno mi sono preso questa autorità per satisfare à molti di stampare il Basso Continuo à beneplacito.[41]

An interesting example of the use of independent instrumental lines in combination with voices occurs in G.B. Locatello's first book a 2-7 (Venice: Vincenti, 1628, NV1516), which includes a setting of Marino's "O baci aventurosi" for tenor with six [stringed?] instruments, adding six voices at the finale. Since the other pieces in the book include a setting for six voices of the Achillini *lettera amorosa* "Se i languidi miei sguardi", set by Monteverdi in his book of 1619 (NV1936), the "O baci" setting may have derived some inspiration from Monteverdi's "Con che soavità" for solo voice with nine instruments, in the same book. In two other pieces by Locatello the instruments outnumber the voices, although their role is generally limited to ritornelli. The vocal lines are often quite athletic - the bass line goes down to bottom D and includes frequent *passaggi* - and they frequently repeat short motifs, sometimes with a shifting emphasis or written-out *accelerando*. In "Se i languidi", for example, the alto has an triadic figure for "sospiri" which is repeated at the same pitch four times in succession, the rests in between getting gradually shorter. Locatello shares his colleagues' love of Marino, who provides nearly half the texts: unlike his colleagues, however, he selects only texts which are either in madrigal form or compatible with madrigal style,[42] and completely excludes the canzonetta. He may have been much older than other composers in Vienna: although this is his first book, pieces by him had apparently been included in anthologies

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41. "The printer to the readers. Although the intention of the author is, that this third part of the Madrigals for six voices be sung without the accompaniment of any instrument, nonetheless I have taken this authority to satisfy many by printing the optional basso continuo."
42. sonnets, canzoni etc. with seven or eleven-syllable lines.

since 1582,[43] and the unusually personal dedication to the future Ferdinand III has a long-suffering air:

> ...Sono elleno il primo parto della debolezza del mio talento...Sono prodotte in tempo, che lo assiduo querelarmi delle disgratie, e'l continuo cimentarmi colle sciagure m'hanno reso poco meno, che ottuso lo ingegno chiusa la bocca, ed immota la mano. Ma anche una pianta selvaggia inserta sopra più felice tronco cangia temperamento, e natura...[44]

Little is known about Giovanni Giacomo Arrigoni, who was organist to Ferdinand II when his *Concerti di camera a 2-9* were published by Magni in 1635.[45] His other surviving book, of psalm settings, was published in 1663, while a book of madrigals a 2-3 or 2-4 of 1623 has not survived.[46] The *Concerti* are dedicated to the future Ferdinand III. They include strophic settings with ritornelli written out in full, instrumental sonatas for six and eight instruments, and a *pass'e mezzo* setting of "Non bastava cor mio". The triple-time sections in several pieces move towards the later aria style, setting very little of the text and repeating it at length. The interesting selection of poems includes six from Licinio's *Amoroso trofeo* of 1612 and seven by Marino, two of them sonnets and two from the *Sampogna* idylls: "Uscite o gemiti", set as a *ciaccona*, and "Ferma il passo o verginella", Apollo calling to Daphne, set as a *passacaglia*, both with instruments. The setting of "Hor che l'aria e

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43. according to Arnold in NG, 11: 107: this may be a namesake.
44. "They are the first offspring of my weak talent...they were produced at a time, when assiduously lamenting my misfortunes, and continuously being tested by calamities, have nearly rendered my mind obtuse, my mouth closed, and my hand motionless. But even a wild plant grafted onto a more fortunate trunk changes temperament, and nature...".
45. NV170; if the dating of the dedication in the Basso continuo part-book, 1. Genaro 1635 - the other part-books give 1 dicembre 1635 - indicates a survival of the old Lady Day year-end, this would mean that they appeared in 1636.
46. Walther 1732, 47, cites a book of madrigals a 2-3, Venice 1623 (see above, 1: 196): the Vincenti catalogue of 1662 includes a book of madrigals a 2-4, giving no date.

la terra", Marino's reply to Petrarch's "Hor che'l ciel", might indicate that Monteverdi's setting of the Petrarch was already known at the Vienna court by 1635: there was no other recent setting of "Hor che'l ciel" to which Arrigoni could have been responding.[47] The forces used are almost identical, but then we have seen that six voices and two violins is a quite normal madrigal-scoring in the context of the Vienna court. The other Marino sonnet is equally unusual: "Arpie del mar" was originally written in the 1590s, as an allegorical attack upon the incursions of the Barbary pirates, and is set here, presumably, as a response to some hostile move in the Thirty Years' War - possibly the Swedish campaign in Germany, since the references to the harpies coming over the sea would be quite apt.[48] The setting is a virtuoso display for three basses, whose war-like character is heightened by the appearance of a figure recalling the *stile concitato*, discussed further below, p. 241-2. In general, Arrigoni's settings are very instrumental in conception, using scale passages and often steady rather than declamatory rhythms: his vocal lines are usually very similar to his instrumental idiom, and his word-painting is generally confined to those words, such as "vola", "arde", and "ride", which traditionally carry semiquaver melismas.[49]

Monteverdi and the Vienna-Mantua connection.

Much of Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi...Libro ottavo* (Venice: Vincenti, 1638, NV1941) can be understood better in the context of Vienna

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47. after the celebrated sixteenth-century settings by Arcadelt (1539) and Rore (1542), there are only three in the seventeenth century: Vecchi's in the *Veglie di Siena* (1604), a solo setting by d'India (1618), and Monteverdi's, which may have drawn upon that by Vecchi.
48. Marino 1913, 287; see Appendix E, 2: 75-79.
49. He includes various indications of dynamics and speed (p. and f., t. and presto).

than in that of Venice - particularly when we consider the close musical relations between Vienna and Mantua. Even the *Concerto...libro settimo* of 1619 (NV1936), makes more sense when related to the work of later Mantuan composers such as Vignali than when, as frequently happens, it is viewed as a product of Venetian commercial trends. Monteverdi continued to receive commissions from the court at Mantua at least until 1627, which included at least two madrigals in 1623-1624;[50] he also supplied the intermedi for the wedding of Eleonora Gonzaga to Ferdinand II in 1622.[51]

Table 3, p. 240, lists the contents of Book 8 and the definite and conjectural allocations that have so far been made of individual pieces to particular places and years. Only one piece, the *Combattimento*, was definitely performed in Venice. Fabbri suggests that those pieces with texts by Giulio Strozzi were written for Strozzi's academy of the Unisoni after its foundation in 1637.[52] This argument is appealing, but we should not overlook the fact that Strozzi was also the librettist for Monteverdi's opera *La finta pazza Licori*, which was to have been performed in Mantua.[53] For similar reasons I am not convinced by Tomlinson's argument that, since the poet Fulvio Testi was living in Modena, "Se vittorie sì belle" and "Armato il cor" may be identified as two of the madrigals that Monteverdi wrote for the Modena court in the early 1620s.[54]

Several works in Book 8 were clearly composed as external commissions for the Viennese court. Although I do not suggest that Monteverdi visited Vienna after 1600, his inclusion in the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandeus* of

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50. possibly as many as four: Fabbri 1985, 247-248, and 1: 224.
51. ibid., 241-244.
52. ibid., 298.
53. ibid., 262.
54. Tomlinson 1987, 199.

Table 3: MONTEVERDI: *Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi*, 1638

Canti guerrieri		
Altri canti d'amor	6vv, 6 insts	Ferdinand III or II; dedicatory sonnet
Hor che'l ciel	6vv, 2vn	Petrarch setting; style akin to Ferd. III pieces
Gira il nemico	3vv	text by Giulio Strozzi; set for the Unisoni, Venice 1637-8 (Fabbri)?
Se vittorie si belle	2vv	text Fulvio Testi; Tomlinson (199) suggests for Modena 1622-24
Armato il cor	2vv	text Rinuccini (Fabbri 288)/Testi (Tomlinson 199 - for Modena); set Marastoni, 1624.
Ogni amante	3vv	Ferdinand III, for 1636-7; text Rinuccini for Henri IV (revised).
Ardo avvampo	8vv, 2vn	Fabbri suggests Giulio Strozzi text; text and music resemble *Gira*.
Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda	3vv, 4 insts	Palazzo Mocenigo, Carnival 1624, "in genere rappresentativo"
Volgendo il ciel	5vv, 2vn	Ballo for Ferdinand III, probably Vienna 12.1636; text Rinuccini for Henri IV revised.
Canti amorosi		
Altri canti di Marte	6vv, 2vn	text Marino sonnet
Vago augelletto	7vv, 3 insts	combination of "French" and "Italian" styles, Petrarch sonnet (octave only)
Mentre vaga angioletta	2vv	text Guarini.
Ardo e scoprir	2vv	ottava
O sia tranquillo il mar	2vv	sonnet
Ninfa che scalza	3vv	canzonetta
Dolcissimo uscignolo	5vv	"cantato a voce piena, alla francese"; text Guarini madrigal
Chi vuol haver felice	5vv	ditto
Non havea Febo ancora	4vv	"Lamento della ninfa in genere rappresentativo"; text Rinuccini.
Perche t'en fuggi	3vv	madrigalessa sdrucciola
Non partir ritrosetta	3vv	canzonetta
Su su pastorelli	3vv	canzonetta
De l'implacabil Dio	7vv, 5 insts	"Il Ballo dell'Ingrate in genere rappr." text Rinuccini, Mantua 1608 revised for Vienna 1628.

1615 does indicate some continuing contact with Ferdinand's court and probably with its musicians - Valentini and Priuli were among the other contributors to this collection.[55] He must almost certainly have known some of Valentini's work, and comparisons with Arrigoni are even more instructive. All three of the madrigals for six voices in Book 8 ("Altri canti d'amor", "Altri canti di Marte", and "Hor che'l ciel") must be considered as belonging to a type which hardly existed elsewhere but was much favoured in Vienna.

In the preface to Book 8, Monteverdi makes some often-quoted remarks about his invention of the *stile concitato*. Particularly interesting are his comments on the use of the style by other composers:

> ...fu cosi grato tal genere anco a gli compositori di Musica, che non solamente l'hanno lodato in voce, ma anco in penna a la immitatione mia l'hanno in opera mostrato a molto mio gusto, & honore. Mi e parso bene percio il far sapere, che da me e nata la investigatione, & la prova prima di tal genere...[56]

He then proceeds to attack those who, not understanding the theoretical basis for the style, think it ridiculous to have to "tampellare sopra una corda sedici volte in una battuta" and therefore play long notes in the accompaniment.[57] Arrigoni's setting of the words "piene di spavento e d'horror" in "Arpie del mar" is a good example of this.[58] The vocal rhythm is almost identical to Monteverdi's setting of "pien di spavento e di terrore" in "Ogni amante è guerrier" - an identity which may surprise Monteverdi's partisans when they consider that Arrigoni's piece was published (in Venice) in 1635,[59] whereas the topical references in "Ogni amante" place it no earlier than the end of 1636. The crucial difference

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55. Federhofer 1955, 167.
56. "...this genus was so pleasing also to composers of music, for not only have they praised it in words, but they have also imitated it in the works from my pen to my great liking, and honour. It therefore seemed good to me to make known that the investigation, and the first proof of this genus, came from me...".
57. "to hammer on one note sixteen times in one beat".
58. see Appendix E, 2: 75-9.
59. or possibly early 1636 - see p. 237 above.

between the two passages is that Monteverdi accompanies his solo bass with repeated semiquavers in the continuo, whereas Arrigoni uses a "normal" continuo line and derives his effect, instead, from three basses singing in close (and discordant) harmony: Arrigoni thus fails to meet Monteverdi's criteria for the "true" *stile concitato*.

The more general similarities between the bass writing of Arrigoni and Monteverdi's bass lines in Book 8, especially the solos for Pluto in the *Ballo delle ingrate*, reinforce the impression that Monteverdi and Arrigoni knew each other's works. It is possible that if any of the singers at the Viennese court were unknown to Monteverdi, he might have used Arrigoni's works as a guide to their vocal capacities and characteristic style of performance.

The *Ballo delle ingrate* was first performed in 1608. It is still uncertain whether it was ever performed at the Vienna court,[60] and the revisions to the text for its publication in 1638 are quite straightforward and involve no more than a few words of recitative. There are, however, several pieces of evidence to support the hypothesis of a revival in Vienna in 1628, notably the presence at the Vienna court of the theatrical troupe, the Fedeli, whose leading lady "Florinda" had taken over the roles of Arianna and the solo Ingrata in 1607-1608.[61] How far the music may have been revised for such a performance is at present conjectural, as our only musical source for the work is the 1638 publication. It is worth noting, however, that the writing for Pluto is very similar to the solo bass work in the Book 8 madrigals, and very

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60. Bianconi: notes to recording by Les Arts Florissants, Harmonia Mundi 1982; Stevens 1967, 165 states a performance in Vienna in 1628.
61. Antonicek in NG 19: 716 "Vienna": they gave the opera *Arcas* in 1627.

different from the music for Charon and Pluto in *L'Orfeo* (1607), which is simpler, much narrower in range, and involves very few large leaps.[62] This internal evidence supports the hypothesis that Pluto's part in the *Ballo* was extensively revised at some point between 1608 and 1638, whether or not this version, with its topical references to Vienna, was actually performed. It should also be noted that the "Viennese" style of bass writing evident in these works is very different from the virtuoso bass writing in, for example, Caccini's second book of 1614: Caccini's bass writing is extremely florid, whereas ornamentation and *passaggi* are only occasionally used in the "Viennese" style, at least in its notated form. This strengthens the association with Vienna of the revised solos for Pluto.

The pieces involving the so-called *canto alla francese* may have been written at the same time as the 1607 *Scherzi*, and not published then because they require larger forces performing more complex polyphony; or they may be part of a new round of experimentation with this style.[63] The latter appears more likely when one examines "Vago augelletto", which combines both French and Italian elements, and uses them in a structure not unlike "Hor che'l ciel". There are also some resemblances between Monteverdi's and Rovetta's settings of "Chi vol haver felice";[64] and Monteverdi re-used his music for this text in setting the "Confitebor

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62. It is worth noting that Tomlinson 1987, 206, refers primarily to the bass writing in arguing for a more extensive revision of the *Ballo delle ingrate* for the Viennese court.
It is highly improbable that the role of Pluto in the *Ballo delle ingrate* as we now know it was composed in 1608 for one particularly gifted bass: this would mean that this individual, although not present in Mantua in 1607, was there in 1608 to sing Pluto and then, almost thirty years later, came to Vienna to perform similar bass solos such as those of "Ogni amante" in 1637. If such an individual existed, it is much more probable that he performed a revised version of the role of Pluto in Vienna ca. 1628. I believe, however, that given the evidence in Arrigoni's "Arpie del mar" that at least three basses could be found at the Viennese court in the 1630s who were capable of meeting technical demands of the kind posed in Pluto's solos, any hypothesis about one brilliant bass is redundant.

63. for discussion of the term *canto alla francese*, see Whenham in Arnold & Fortune (eds.) 1985, 230-235 and Fabbri 1985, 116-17.

64. Rovetta's duet was published in 1629.

tibi" in the *Selva morale* of 1640 (NV1955), which indicates that the style still retained its appeal. Of the pieces in Book 8, "Dolcissimo uscignolo" is the purest example of *canto alla francese*: the soprano holds the melody throughout, with another voice accompanying a third or sixth below and occasionally a bass counter-melody; the harmony remains simple, with the inner parts acting mainly as fillers; the final section is repeated; and the melody, although fairly apt, is by no means determined by the text. "Chi vol haver" resembles "Dolcissimo uscignolo" in many respects, but uses more semiquavers and adds a brief triple-time section and an entirely Italian-madrigalian figure for "fugga fugga pur". "Vago augelletto", which sets the octave of a Petrarch sonnet, uses the "French" setting of the first line as a refrain which recurs throughout what is otherwise an Italian madrigal, although the Italian-style vocal lines are simpler than is usual in Monteverdi's work, with no *passaggi*: another "French" characteristic in this piece is the strong contrast between solo and tutti textures, with comparatively little use of duets. The use of the seventh voice shows how interested Monteverdi is in exploring the implications of the text: this third tenor enters only at the second quatrain, to take a solo role as the poet at the point where the poem's focus moves from the bird to the poet.

The two "Altri canti..." poems obviously function as a pair: both are sonnets; "Altri canti d'Amor" is clearly written in reply to Marino's "Altri canti di Marte"; and one prefaces each half of Book 8. In both cases Monteverdi displaces some of the text - perhaps to clarify the meaning, perhaps to alter the pacing of the piece.[65] Both pieces include a leading

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65. in "Altri canti di Marte" - where "l'anima afflitta" is brought forward to be attached more directly to each of the verbs of which it is subject - the text should read "la mia nemica invitta", not "in vita" as it appears in the Malipiero edition.

role for the bass: in "Altri canti d'Amor" the bass leads the way in all the martial imagery and also appropriates all the first-person speech - no other voice sings the words "io canto", "fo nel mio canto", or the first tercet, which dedicates the work.[66] In "Altri canti di Marte" the bass has the final, warlike, tercet as a solo. In both pieces, wherever the bass introduces material that is then worked into a tutti, the bass line remains the same for both solo and tutti, indicating the continuance of its leading role.[67]

Both "Altri canti" settings contain musical ideas which correspond to and may have been borrowed from the *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*. In "Altri canti di Marte" these are limited to a couple of instances in the first quatrain: the vocal setting of "e le contese" recalls the string "motto del cavallo" in bars 18-23 of the *Combattimento*, while the strings echo the string figure of bars 303-307 (to "u' l'arte in bando *[sic]*"). The warlike images in the rest of the sonnet probably do not last long enough for Monteverdi to have adopted the *stile concitato* for them: this style requires a certain time-span and coherence of imagery for its proper development. These factors are present in "Altri canti d'Amor". The semiquaver declamation of "di Marte furibondo e fiero" occurs in

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66. "gradite il verde ancor novo lavoro". The Imperial references, "o Gran Fernando" and "tu cui tessuta han di Cesare alloro" could in theory refer to either Ferdinand II or Ferdinand III, but Stevens 1967, 175, points out that anything referring to "sommo valor" is more likely to refer to Ferdinand III, who was a much more competent warrior: it is also unlikely, despite the deliberate inclusion of the late as well as the living emperor in the book's dedication, that Monteverdi would have begun the book with an old piece. On the other hand, Barbara Strozzi explicitly includes in her cantatas of 1651 (NV2689), dedicated to Ferdinand III on the occasion of his "terze felicissime nozze" to Eleonora Gonzaga, a piece which was written for his previous wedding in 1648 to Maria Leopoldina of Austria!

67. a procedure which is surprisingly rare: even Sabbatini's "Luci amorose" (Appendix E, 2: 262-70.), which also begins with a bass solo, deploys the bass material in the upper voices when they enter instead of harmonising upwards from the same bass line.

several parts of the *Combattimento*, while the contrary-motion scales on "i duri incontri" and (in thirds) "e bombeggiar" have a close parallel in the string writing of bars 159-161 (text: "ne scende taglio invan"). The triple-time passage on "le battaglie" has a parallel in the vocal line in bars 34-37, "in guisa avien che d'armi suone", while the alternating crotchets for "strider le spade" occur in bars 139ff, "non danno i colpi". The accompanied recitative for "tu cui tessuta han..." may also owe something to that of Clorinda's speech, "amico, hai vinto".

"Hor ch'el ciel" offers another opportunity to study Monteverdi's structural use of word-painting.[68a] Like both "Altri canti" settings, it begins by setting up a sharp contrast between the first quatrain and the remainder of the sonnet.[68b] For lines five and six, Monteverdi adopts a pattern of tutti interjections over a duet: then, with "guerra è'l mio stato" the warlike elements arrive. There is some resemblance to the dotted string figures of the *Combattimento*, bars 152-154, although in the latter, the dotted figure is not applied to scales; there is a closer likeness between the chordal statement of "guerra è'l mio stato" and the Testo in bar 155, "sempre il piè fermo". In the repeat of this section of text the violins have repeated semiquavers (in "true" *stile concitato* fashion) which correspond to several passages in the *Combattimento*. The sestet takes up a device which is by this time traditional in illustrating pain - rising chromaticism - with the result that the setting of "move il dolce e l'amaro" has a close similarity, for example, to "amare son le tue

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68a. Tomlinson 1987, 209-10, gives an analysis of the musical imagery of these works which is factually accurate and perceptive, but his interpretation appears to me to be unreasonably pejorative, with references to "bellicose bluster", "sterile virtuosity" etc. He does not go into the detailed correspondences between the madrigals and the *Combattimento*.

68b. In his *Veglie di Siena* of 1604 Vecchi had employed a similar idea in setting the first quatrain, but whereas Monteverdi maintains an almost complete monotone throughout, Vecchi begins lines 1, 2 and 4 with a monotone but moves away from this in order to cadence: he also does not create such an abrupt contrast with the rest of the piece.

dolcezze" in Rigatti's "Ecco che pur".[69] One reason for referring to "structural" word-painting is that while Monteverdi shapes each section around a musical image derived from the meaning of the text, he several times breaks off statements within a voice (e.g. "così sol", "una man sola"): his concern is with the overall effect, not with the completeness or coherence of the text-setting within individual parts.

Book 8, even more than the other books discussed in this chapter, is full of pieces which blur or defy genre distinctions. "Gira il nemico" has madrigalian elements - it is through-composed, it contains a considerable amount of word-painting, and it has such virtuoso elements as the bass solo on "con impeto gagliardo" - but its "scherzo" text is not a madrigal form; it creates a loose refrain structure through the exclamations of "su presto" and the alternation of common and triple time; and its texture and melodic style relate more to the *napolitana* than to the madrigal. These factors do not necessarily define its genre, however: "Altri canti d'Amor" has an opening triple-time section whose parallel triads also owe much to the sixteenth-century *napolitana*. It is perhaps more important to note that Monteverdi wrote very few madrigals for three voices, and appears to have associated this scoring more with lighter forms such as the canzonetta.

"Ardo avvampo", which Fabbri suggests may also be to a text by Giulio Strozzi,[70] has fewer non-madrigalian elements. The cries in the opening triple-time section and some of the word-setting in the common-time section, such as the semiquavers followed by a crotchet on each syllable of "vani", keep up the character of a "scherzo", but this all takes place

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69. see Appendix E, 2: 230-3.
70. Fabbri 1985, 309, in view of the similarities in imagery to "Gira il nemico".

within the structure of a madrigal. The text differs from "Gira" not only in form but also in character: it consists of a metaphorical exclamation followed by an explanation of the images, whereas "Gira" maintains the metaphor throughout. Since Strozzi's poetry has a strong pseudo-didactic streak this point does not weaken, and may indeed strengthen, the case for Strozzi's authorship.[71]

"Non partir ritrosetta" and "Su su pastorelli" are the only strophic canzonettas to be set as such in this book: even so, "Non partir" shows unusually smooth vocal lines, with a more dissonant texture than usual in this form; imitative counterpoint and rising chromaticism are also included within the predominantly triple-time setting, a metre with which these features are seldom associated. "Ninfa che scalza il piede" works on a principle of increasing forces: a voice is added in each section. The dance-like nature of the piece is emphasised by the constant short-long rhythm in the bass: the text refers to dancing in its first section. "Perchè t'en fuggi o Fillide" is set largely in canzonetta style, with its *sdruccioli* contributing to lively rhythms in both triple and common time: however, neither the text (previously set by Priuli, 1625) nor its setting is strophic. The most celebrated setting of a canzonetta text in Book 8 is the *Lamento della ninfa*, "Non havea Febo ancora", where Monteverdi has heavily adapted Rinuccini's straightforward strophic text in order to create a miniature drama.

"Mentre vaga angioletta" may perhaps have been intended as praise of a particular singer: it could also, however, be seen as a satirical

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71. see Chapter 9, 1: 195 and 204.

catalogue of contemporary vocal embellishments.[72] The current usage upon which "Mentre vaga angioletta" is based can be seen in its unexaggerated form elsewhere in Book 8 (especially in pieces datable to the middle or late 1630s) and in earlier books by other composers. The setting of "garrula" is almost identical to that employed by Turini in 1629, while the figure used for "tremoli" is similar to that used by several other composers in the 1620s: the usual version, however, is that used in bar 28 of "Ogni amante", which is also employed by Possenti (1623) for the word "tremante" in "A lo scender"; by Facchi (1636) for "tremula" in "Apre l'anima"; and by Stefano Landi for "gorgheggiate" in *La morte d'Orfeo*, 1: 3 (ensemble for the Euretti). The unprecedented delay of the "Instrument"'s entry until the sixth line of text suggests that Monteverdi was taking a grandiose view of the piece: the extended aria at the end (with a few common-time interpolations) also suggests a date near that of publication.

"Ogni amante è guerrier" is another work which defies classification, especially as its text consists of lines selected from Rinuccini's translation in blank verse of Ovid, written for Henri IV of France, who died in 1610, and subsequently revised for its present setting.[73] The satirical reference in the opening section to the ridiculousness of an elderly warrior and lover, as well as the inclusion of the name "Fernando Ernesto" make it clear that this topical revision must be for Ferdinand III rather than II. The three voices are brought together for the briefest possible time in the last section: the two tenors are used to portray the amorous aspects of the poem and for the opening trumpet

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72. Stevens' suggestion (1967, 184-5) of a collaboration between Monteverdi and Guarini in honour of Adriana Basile, ca. 1610-1616, is ruled out by the fact that Guarini's lyric appears in Mammarello (ed.) 1592 and, according to Bianconi 1987, 43, dates from 1581. Reiner 1974 further refutes Stevens' theory (27-30) and discusses possible identities for Guarini's (39-40) and Monteverdi's (35-38, 50 etc.) singers.

73. Fabbri 1985, 295.

calls, while the bass is the warrior hero, moving freely around a two-octave compass. We have already observed a similar characterisation in the two "Altri canti" settings. However, in the final work of the "canti guerrieri" half of the book, the *ballo* "Volgendo il ciel...Movete al mio bel suon", whose text, a pair of sonnets, was published by Rinuccini alongside "Ogni amante", the hero is a more conventional tenor Apollo, although the laudatory text refers to arms as well as to poetry and music.

It can always be argued that Monteverdi was quite capable of developing ambitious forces, new forms and different means of expression without any assistance from colleagues. I hope, however, to have shown that many of the otherwise puzzling developments in Monteverdi's late work, especially in his eighth book of madrigals, make good sense in the light of work by his contemporaries at the Viennese court and his long history of contact with the Mantuan avant-garde.

CHAPTER 11: FORWARDS AND SIDEWAYS

Much of the discussion in previous chapters has concentrated upon musical features which were in some way new to the seventeenth century. The continuing importance of the madrigal was not, however, confined to these new features; while they contributed to the development of other forms which we nowadays hardly associate with the madrigal, elements of the sixteenth-century tradition and the more "conservative" view of the madrigal continued to be cultivated and to play a role in the education of many musicians.

The madrigal in musical education.

Bologna had a strong tradition of musical academies intended for practical instruction: the Accademia Filarmonica took over from the Filaschisi at its foundation in 1666 and was a highly-respected institution well into the nineteenth century.[1] Composers seeking admission to the academy were required to submit two pieces which were usually *a cappella* madrigals, at least in its earlier days. Giovanni Maria Bononcini (1642-1678) from Modena, was a member: his *Madrigali a cinque voci sopra i dodici tuoni, o modi del canto figurato* of 1678 (NV397) were possibly the only ones after 1655 to be published without continuo.[2] Their didactic purpose is evident: he states that they are intended as a broader explanation of his *Musico Prattico*, and besides making extensive use of canon and imitative techniques, they illustrate composition in each of the church modes in turn, finishing with a piece which combines them.[3] The *Musico Prattico* itself, published in

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1. Surian in NG, 3: 5-6 "Bologna 3: Academies and conservatory".
2. like Cenci's, they were published in both score and parts.
3. Hall 1978, 12, 74.

1673, makes no specific reference to madrigal composition, although many of the authorities listed by Bononcini at the beginning of the book are prominent madrigalists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from Willaert and Rore to Galeazzo Sabbatini and Domenico Mazzocchi.[4]

There are still vestiges of the didactic usage of the madrigal in compositional training as late as Alexandre Choron's *Principes de composition* of 1808, in which Marco Scacchi's classification of types of composition is reiterated and illustrated.[5] A better-known treatise is Padre Martini's *Esemplare* of 1775. Martini was an enthusiastic collector and advocate of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music: no fewer than a third of the sources for this dissertation survive in the library that he assembled, now in the Bologna conservatorium named after him. As his aim in the *Esemplare* is to improve contemporary sacred music, it is especially interesting that he bases so much of the book upon the analysis of secular madrigals - thirteen of them, by Palestrina, Marenzio, Monteverdi, Gesualdo and Alessandro Scarlatti. He gives the works in score, indicating points of particular interest to the "Giovani Compositori" who he assumes will try their hand at the form: he states unequivocally that madrigal-writing is useful training for church composition, and says that he has chosen these madrigals because, in their use of a wide variety of harmonic movement and chromatic alterations to express the "particolar sentimento richiesto dalle parole",[6] they are more expressive and imaginative than sacred music of the same period. He also notes that

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4. Since it has been assumed that the frequent reprinting of Arcadelt's first book a 4 was for didactic purposes, it is remarkable that Arcadelt is omitted from Bononcini's list. The book appears to have fallen from favour by this time: the last recorded reprint is that of 1654 (see above, 1: 72-3).
5. Hall 1978, 22.
6. Martini 1775, 73-74, 88, 103: the "particular sentiment required by the words".

madrigalists, unlike composers of much sacred music, were able to exploit such elements as unprepared dissonance because they were writing for more expert singers, one to a part, who could cope with greater technical demands.[7] Referring to his own day, he points out that the treatment of dissonance in Monteverdi's "Cruda Amarilli" would not be appropriate for *a cappella* church music, although it would be suitable for *concertato* sacred music or for secular music.[8]

The distinctions which Martini makes between the madrigal and sacred music may help to answer Carapezza's question: why did Giovanni Gabrieli's pupils each produce a book of *a cappella* madrigals for five voices as their opus 1? Carapezza notes that one of these pupils, Schütz, in his preface to the *Geistliche Chormusik* of 1648, states that learning to compose without continuo is an essential first step in training, although he does not specify madrigals in particular.[9]

Well into the eighteenth century we find authors who describe the singing of madrigals as a normal part of vocal training: for example, Tosi recommends "libracci a Cappella, e i Madrigali a tavolino" as the best means to "francar lo scolaro" - in other words, to cultivate good rhythm, sight-singing etc..[10] There is an interesting reference to this use of the madrigal in early seventeenth-century Rome in the rules setting out the duties of the *maestro di cappella* at the (Jesuit) German College, which state:

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7. ibid., 77, reiterated on 193.
8. ibid., 192. It is also worth noting that Angelini Bontempi, 1695, illustrates all his points regarding modern composition in any form with (his own) madrigals for five voices and continuo - 146-7, 166, 257, 266-7.
9. Carapezza 1981, 106-7.
10. Tosi 1723, 39.

> ...it has been customary at times to sing some madrigals, for practice or for recreation, either in the room of the *maestro di cappella*, or elsewhere...at the judgment of the Father Rector...[11]

The point of interest is that this follows a rule demanding that the *maestro di cappella* should

> not have sung, nor keep in the house, love songs or impure songs; and in choir, let him see to it that, as regards both the singing and playing, nothing light or vain be had, but rather what is serious, religious and devotional.[12]

Unless such madrigals were all *madrigali spirituali*, which were closely associated with a different order (the Oratorians), the implication of these two statements is that either the madrigal was somehow regarded as intrinsically virtuous - as in the references in the secular world to madrigal-singing as an "honesta ricreatione" - or that madrigals were such a natural part of a singer's training that they were not even thought of in the context of "songs" in general.[13]

The "Indian summer" of the madrigal.

The continued composition of madrigals by such distinguished figures as Caldara, Stradella and Alessandro Scarlatti in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries has already been noted by many authors from Burney onwards, but even here the fragmentation of the repertoire has

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11. Culley 1970, 73.
12. ibid., 35.
13. the learned nature of many Roman madrigals may have been regarded as counteracting the amorous texts: Domenico dal Pane, a learned madrigalist, was among the young musicians who boarded at the college - Culley 1970, 226. Madrigals were apparently sometimes sung in England without their words - probably because their texts were not understood, not because they were a corrupting influence - but I have come across no evidence of any such practice in Italy.

resulted in a number of gaps.[14] Most authors other than Hall have concentrated their attention on madrigals which circulated in manuscript, with a resulting over-emphasis on the "antiquarian" aspects of the later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century madrigal: contemporary printed madrigals, which appear to outnumber those in manuscript, continue to develop many aspects of the *concertato* style. Scarlatti's eight known madrigals, for four or five voices without continuo, have attracted an interest which is justified by their quality but is quite disproportionate when one considers their small number and their unrepresentative nature.[15] Stradella's output is perhaps a better guide to contemporary practice, since it comprises a few *a cappella* madrigals for five voices and a larger number for two to four voices with continuo.[16]

The attitude apparent in Rome before 1655, favouring the madrigal as the ideal expression in pleasing sound of a composer's learning - an art form for connoisseurs - becomes even more marked later in the century. In the preface of Domenico dal Pane's second book of madrigals a 5 (1678, NV685), the popularity of the madrigal is no longer at issue: one composes them to prove one's skill to the limited circle of the Academies.

> Fra tutti li Musicali Concenti, sempre quello de'i Madrigali al tavolino ha occupato i primi luoghi nelle Accademie per esser di tutti gli altri il più sublime, ritrovandosi in esso l'estratto della Armonia unendo insieme con un perfettissimo Studio, una incomparabile vaghezza di melodia esprimendosi al vivo i sensi più proprii della Poesia à segno di muovere, e rimuovere gl'affetti di chi gl'ascolta. Quindi è che i Musici Compositori più celebri in ogni tempo à concorrenza si sono applicati à tal eccellenza di Compositione, e con somma lor lode ne hanno riempito l'Europa tutta per mezzo delle Stampe. Onde anch'io (benche inesperto) ansioso di seguire si nobil Scorta con l'occasione

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14. Hall, 1978, makes a laudable attempt at systematic coverage of the late madrigal; it is limited, however, by restricted access to sources and by his decision to organise the discussion by the number of voices, which makes it difficult to assess the range of work produced by any individual composer.
15. see Boyd's work-list in NG, 16: 565.
16. see Gianturco's worklist in NG, 18: 188-93 - under "cantatas".

> delle pubbliche Accademie in Roma tenute dal Sig. Antonio Maria Abbatini mio Maestro, Oracolo della Scienza Musica...mi applicai alla tessitura de presenti Madrigali...[17]

The proof of one's skill, however, is not restricted to *a cappella* composition: dal Pane's book of 1678, like that of 1652, includes an optional continuo part. Indeed, the few madrigals without continuo connected with Rome after 1655 circulated exclusively in manuscript copies: the best-known are those already mentioned by Alessandro Scarlatti and Stradella.

The production of new madrigals in the late seventeenth century was concentrated largely in Rome, where many of the madrigalists were based, and Bologna, where the madrigal was actively promoted by the Accademia Filarmonica, and where many works were published by the Monti firm. There were still important ecclesiastical patrons of the madrigal in Rome: Mario Savioni's book for five voices of 1668 (NV2566) was dedicated to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, and his two books for three voices to Cardinal Chigi and Maria Mancini Colonna (Cardinal Mazarin's niece) respectively.[18] The courts of the Po valley also regained for a time their former importance in madrigal patronage: the dukes and duchesses of Modena and of Mantua received the dedications of several books by composers in the

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17. "Of all musical harmonies, that of madrigals in part-books has always occupied the foremost place in the Academies, being of all the most sublime, as one finds in it the essence of harmony combined with a perfect study, an incomparible grace of melody expressing in life the most intrinsic meanings of the poetry in order to move, and move again the affections of whoever listens to them. Therefore the most celebrated composers of music in all times have hastened to apply themselves to such an excellent form of composition, and to their great praise they have filled all Europe with it by means of the presses. Therefore I too, although not expert, anxious to follow such a noble guide, with the occasion of the public Academies held in Rome by my teacher, Abbatini, oracle of musical science...applied myself to the construction of the present madrigals...".

18. 1660, NV2565, and 1672, NV2568.

area, such as Carlo Grossi and Maurizio Cazzati.[19] However, G.B. Mazzaferrata's books, including his *Madrigali a 2 e 3 voci, amorosi, e morali* of 1668, were dedicated to comparatively minor noblemen in the Duchy of Milan.[20]

Since Emperor Ferdinand III was succeeded by two other composing emperors, it is hardly surprising that Bononcini's book of 1678 (NV397) was dedicated to Leopold I, while Lotti's book of 1705, dedicated to his successor, Joseph I, also refers to Leopold's interest in the works. Although Bononcini and Lotti were resident in Italy, the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries saw many madrigalists emigrating: Caldara's madrigals, for example, were composed in Dresden.[21] The extent of interest in the madrigal in other parts of Europe is demonstrated by the appearance of manuscripts of the Scarlatti madrigals in Germany, England, Austria and Russia as well as within Italy[22] - a distribution which indicates the effectiveness of circulation by manuscript, despite the existence of fewer copies than would have been available through printing. The Academy of Ancient Music in London, as its title suggests, took a decidedly antiquarian interest in the madrigal, but it also stimulated new compositions: G.M. Bononcini's son Giovanni (1670-1747) composed at least three madrigals (for four and five voices and continuo) for the academy during the 1720s, and his reputation in London was ruined when he claimed in 1731 to be the composer of Lotti's madrigal "In una siepe ombrosa",[23] published in 1705. Many of the Italian musicians who

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19. Grossi: NV1289 (1675) a 2-3 to Francesco II of Modena, NV1290 (1681) a 2-3 to Ferdinando Carlo II of Mantua. Cazzati: 531 (1661) a 2-3 to Alfonso IV of Modena, 537 (1668) *spirituali* a 1-4 to Laura, Duchess of Modena, 538 (1677) a 2 to Anna Isabella, Duchess of Mantua.
20. Monti reprinted them twice, in 1675 and 1683, NV1763-5.
21. Freeman in NG, 3: 612-16.
22. Boyd worklist in NG, 16: 565.
23. Lindgren in NG, 3: 30-34.

came to England during the Restoration had at some stage served the exiled Queen Christina of Sweden,[24] a patron of Stradella and Scarlatti: Vincenzo Albrici or Innocenzo Fede may have brought with them some of the Roman works that have survived in copies made by eighteenth-century Englishmen, such as the madrigals of Michelangelo Rossi.

Given the small number of madrigals surviving from this period it is understandable that historians have generally either concentrated on the best-known composers or treated all of them as a single group. However, some of the differences in regional style familiar to us from the early seventeenth century are still evident. Alessandro Scarlatti's madrigals fit clearly into the context of mid-century Rome: he employs sixteenth-century texts and imitative polyphony, not for any didactic purpose, but in homage to a still-vital local tradition.[25] Scarlatti's *a cappella* writing, in which all voices are of equal contrapuntal importance, follows the preferred scoring of Roman madrigalists such as Cenci;[26] his harmony recalls that clarified version of Neapolitan *consonanze stravaganti* and *durezze e ligature* developed by Roman composers such as Michelangelo Rossi and Domenico Mazzocchi. By contrast, the Venetian tradition dominates in Antonio Lotti's *Duetti, terzetti e madrigali* of 1705: here we find a basso continuo, often independent in pieces with no bass voice; solo passages; florid ornamentation; and sectional divisions using a range of time-signatures - C, 3/2, 3/4, 6/8, 3/8 etc. While he makes full use of the techniques developed by Pesenti and the Viennese composers,

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24. cf. Mabbett 1986.
25. The tendency of madrigalists of this period to revert to texts popular in the sixteenth century was probably conditioned by the Arcadian reaction against Marinist poetry, evident, for example, in the writings of Crescimbeni.
26. see, for example, "Cor mio, deh non languire" in Martini 1775, 207-20.

however, his disposition of voices and counterpoint are not unlike those of Mazzocchi's *concertato* madrigals.

The impact of the madrigal upon other forms.

The importance of the madrigal after 1655 does not, however, rest upon such limited considerations as the training of professional musicians or the intellectual diversion of a select few in the academies. Glenn Watkins' remarks about the long-term influence of Gesualdo may aptly be quoted here:

> Because Gesualdo's forms were inherited, previous historical assessments see him as a figure whose daring harmonies, strange and imaginative as they were, nevertheless led to a dead end and ultimately vanished without influence upon the ensuing Baroque....But it is fair to suggest that this feeling is conditioned by the contention that the madrigal as a form effectively perished with the emergence of the Baroque, and by the failure to trace harmonic expansion and textural contrast into the following century....if influence is to be judged in terms of the quantity of later music which sounds like Gesualdo, it could be argued that he was one of the least influential composers in history. On the other hand we should guard against the tendency to see connections only within the framework of a particular genre, and to attribute importance only to music which engenders a repertoire of copies.[27]

The influence of the madrigal may be seen not only in the various fixed forms which developed largely within the madrigal-books, but also in distinct repertoires such as cantata, motet and opera.

Other genres within the madrigal-books.

Several types of strophic song appear in madrigal-books between 1620 and 1655. We find five villanellas for solo voice in Pasquali's *Varie musiche* of 1633; but seventeenth-century madrigalists were more interested in the canzonetta and the aria. While these forms occur in only a small number

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27. Watkins 1973, 259-60.

of madrigal-books in the 1620s, the proportion of books which include them in the 1640s is much higher.

The canzonettas published in the 1620s by central Italian composers, such as those included in the Costantini anthologies (OV1621.1 and 1622.1), are simple little ditties, usually for one or two voices, essentially the same as those in the canzonetta- or aria-books of the period. Later madrigalists adopt this form for works of a much more complex nature, often using larger forces and writing for them in a madrigalian fashion, with more elaborate melodies, sophisticated harmony, and textures which include imitative polyphony.[28] In effect, some composers begin to produce a madrigal-canzonetta hybrid, taking the opportunities offered by strophic form to add instrumental ritornelli or vocal refrains to maintain coherence, but varying its static nature by changing the scoring from strophe to strophe, by using strophic-variation technique (same bass line, different melody) or even by setting the canzonetta as a through-composed form.[29] At this point it becomes impossible to distinguish canzonetta from canzone.[30]

Like the canzonetta, the aria, as seen in the madrigal-books, started out as a simple strophic composition, but it developed into two more elaborate forms: a type of strophic piece with ritornelli,[31] and also a type of through-composed setting (usually without instruments), frequently in triple metre, which used a more flowing and continuous

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28. examples can be found in books from the 1630s and 1640s by Monteverdi, Pesenti and Barbara Strozzi.
29. an early example is Bernardi's "Traditrice beltà" of 1621: others occur in Sabbatini's third and fourth books, Monteverdi's eighth and ninth, Dognazzi (1643) and Marini (1649).
30. see the discussion of the terms above, 1: 18-19.
31. used by Monteverdi, Arrigoni, and Sabbatini (fourth and fifth books).

melodic style than the madrigal.[32] By 1639, Tarditi was applying the diminutive "arietta" to a piece which combined brief recitative-like sections in common time with extended "aria" passages in triple time (NV2707): a form which is also especially evident in the madrigal-books of the 1640s and 1650s, notably those of Strozzi (NV2688) and Capuana (NV488) and the two *Floridi concenti* (OV1652.1 and 1653.1). "Arietta" was one of the terms most frequently used by Roman composers for what we now term "cantatas", although it still does not refer to a consistent musical form.[33]

Canzonettas and arias of the simple, strophic kind also continued as a distinct stream largely separate from the "art"-music publications: one popular type of publication took the form of collections of lyrics marked with guitar symbols. As developed in the madrigal-books, they suggested new possibilities, both for handling musical form in an age of emergent tonality, and for the development of word-setting and melodic style.

The adoption of the basso continuo led Arrigoni, Pesenti, Marini and several others to experiment with various types of bass-pattern and ground bass. The *pass'e mezzo*, the *romanesca* and the *Ruggiero* were among the sixteenth-century basses taken over from instrumental music and solo song: the more recent arrivals included the *passacaglia* and the

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32. for example, Sabbatini's "Ho perso": see Appendix E, 2: 255-61. Hall 1978, 66, quotes Savioni's preface to his *madrigali spirituali* (NV2566): "In these compositions I have attempted to unite together the aria and madrigal in order to adapt them to the characteristics of the concerto". This appears to refer to the frequent inclusion of aria sections in otherwise madrigalian pieces.
33. Murata 1986; Rosand (ed.) 1986, notes that Strozzi applies the term "arietta" to short strophic arias.

ciaccona.[34] The use of bass-patterns and ground basses may have contributed to a growing sense of tonal structures and to the development of a richer and more varied vocabulary in other respects: these devices were also used to extend the range of metres and verse-forms that could readily be set.

Only a few composers included complete instrumental works in their madrigal-books, but the inclusion of melodic instruments, both in ritornelli and in direct combination with voices, considerably affected certain composers in their perception of form and their view of what was idiomatic for voices. The use of instruments to answer voices, and the adoption of quasi-instrumental elements in vocal lines, are increasingly important features in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Outside the madrigal-books: the cantata.

The exact relationship of the madrigal to the early cantata is difficult to define, because the word "cantata" has been used in so many different ways. No consistent usage of the term emerged before the 1670s.[35] Current musicology uses the term "cantata" to designate a body of secular vocal music of the younger composers of the first half of the seventeenth century, which circulated in manuscript and in score at a time when most

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34. The terminology applied to the *passacaglia* and *ciaccona* appears to have been somewhat confused even at this stage, but the most widespread practice was to use "passacaglia" for the descending tetrachord bass - often not labelled as such - and "ciaccona" for the distinctive short-long dance rhythm.

35. Marx 1986, 105, notes that "the principle of alternation of recitative and aria in the cantata can be traced as early as Francesco Negri's *Arie musicali...a 1 & 2 voci con alcune Cantate in stile recitativo* (Venice, 1635), but it...was not until about 1670 that the succession of different formal segments was discarded in favour of separate movements complete in themselves...".

madrigals still appeared in printed part-books. In particular, historians apply the label "cantata" to works of this kind produced by Carissimi and his contemporaries in Rome. The manuscripts containing this repertoire, however, do not appear to make any distinctions in terms of form: the arrangement usually relates to features of scoring, as in contemporary madrigal-books, or to the intended context of performance.[36] This context-based category of "cantata" includes strophic songs, laments, and all kinds of combinations of recitative, *arioso* and aria, usually for one to three voices.[37] While this usage of "cantata" is valuable in avoiding an over-narrow or over-simplified interpretation, it also obscures the close relationship between these manuscript works and their counterparts printed as "madrigals".

Many of the forms other than madrigals included in seventeenth-century madrigal-books are also found in the body of music designated as "cantata". They include settings over stylised basses and strophic canzonettas and arias. The term "cantata" itself was also used in print from Alessandro Grandi's first book of *Cantade et arie* (Venice, reprinted 1620).[38] Turini's solo *cantata in stile recitativo*, "Queste mie querele" of 1624 (NV2772), is of a similar nature to solo pieces in "genere rappresentativo" or "stile recitativo" included in other madrigal books. Giovanni Rovetta includes a "cantata" for four voices, "Spieghi i contenti suoi", in his book of 1640 (NV2465); each voice sings a verse to

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36. Murata 1986.
37. Rose 1973, 661.
38. According to Rose 1973, 658, the composers Grandi, Milanuzzi and Berti all apply the term to pieces in strophic variation form. Strophic variations do appear in Einstein's transcriptions from Grandi's first book (personal communication from Tim Carter). However, Grandi's third book of 1626 includes no strophic variations: the only piece actually designated as "cantada" is through-composed with refrain elements (there are also two strophic balletti, which unlike the other strophic pieces remain in the same metre throughout). The pieces in Berti's second book of "cantade et arie" of 1627 are generally similar to those in Grandi's third: in this case, no single piece is designated "cantada" and the table of contents refers simply to "arie". In this context it appears that "cantade" is a general term to refer to those pieces in the book which are not "arie" - a dialogue (in strophic variation), a through-composed sonnet, a "canzon baccante", a "testamento amoroso" and several strophic balletti.

different music, culminating in a tutti finale. It differs from his canzoni in being printed in score in the basso continuo partbook, and in excluding instrumental ritornelli.

There are also many "madrigals", especially after 1640, which fail to conform with one point of the definition given in Chapter 1 in that they include extended sections in triple metre. By the 1620s, triple-time sections, usually in white notation, are ubiquitous in the northern Italian madrigal, but they seldom exceed a single line of text - they are often only a few bars long - and they generally have some link, however tènuous, with the meaning of the poem (references to singing, dancing or even the three Graces). Martino Pesenti and Mario Capuana both experimented widely with the declamatory possibilities of various types of triple metre. Capuana, in 1647 (NV488), uses 12/8 in "Non più strida" and triplets for declamation in "Peccai lasso"; Pesenti uses 3/1, 3/2 and 3/4 in "Ascolta come freme" (1641, NV2197)[39] and 6/4 in "Ferma il piè, non fuggir" (1638, NV2196). Many of Pesenti's triple-metre sections are extended, especially in his duets.

By 1640 the label "madrigal" was being applied to such pieces as Vignali's "Qual cavalier ardito" (NV2903), which is almost entirely in a very melodious triple metre. In Virgilio Mazzocchi's "Sospirate bellezze",[40] there are three alternations between sections in common time and triple time, resembling a recitative/aria alternation. While such works still fit many of the criteria used to define the madrigal in Chapter 1, it becomes ever harder to distinguish them from the so-called "cantata" in their increasing use of *arioso* sections in triple time, of purely

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39. see Appendix E, 2: 212-8.

declamatory common-time sections, and of clear formal divisions, although these are not part of "fixed" forms.

Schmitz was right to say that it is impossible to draw a clear distinction between the *concertato* madrigal and the cantata.[41] Perhaps by the 1640s the genre was partly defined by the form of circulation; madrigals were designated as such in print, while the cantata corpus circulated overwhelmingly in manuscript. However, while cantatas for several voices may have been more complex than those for solo voice, the preponderance in the early manuscript repertoire of fairly simple strophic songs does contrast with the more elaborate through-composed forms that developed within the madrigal-books: both of these streams contribute to the emergence of more complex solo cantatas. A number of madrigal-books also include semi-dramatic pieces such as dialogues (often for more than two voices) and solo recitatives conveying some element of drama. Above all, Monteverdi's pieces *in genere rappresentativo* such as the *Lamento della ninfa* and the *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* (NV1941) blur the distinction between chamber and stage, while it is only later in its development that the manuscript cantata begins to concern itself with this kind of dramatic expression.

A particularly interesting usage of the madrigal in an unexpected context occurs in the Roman Mario Savioni's madrigal-books of 1660 and 1668, which not only combine the characteristics of the madrigal and the aria in the "concerti" of 1660,[42] but are ultimately intended to serve as oratorios. Each "concerto" a 3 of the 1660 publication (NV2565) had a

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41. Schmitz 1914, 12.
42. see above, p. 261, n. 32.

partner in the madrigals a 5 of 1668 (NV2566: both with continuo): they could thus be paired together to form oratorio-cantatas.[43]

Wider implications: the madrigalesque style.

Murata has pointed out that Prunières' view of the cantata as a laboratory for opera will not hold: recitative monologues, for example, came into the cantata repertory from opera, not vice versa, as did the recitative-aria *scena*.[44] Most of the repertory of early manuscript solo cantatas appears to have consisted of non-dramatic settings of strophic verse, remaining fairly simple in view of the amount of text to be set. The cantata later became a genre in which the *stile rappresentativo* was routinely expected, leading to a less dense relationship of text and music; but that was a new feature. To reach that stage, the solo cantata must have drawn new impetus both from opera and from the madrigal and its close relative, the ensemble cantata.

Changes in the style of madrigalian text-setting appear to have run parallel to developments in opera. Murata comments that:

> Of all the aspects of the seventeenth-century opera libretto, the composer's main concern was the poetic diction. The composer himself did not directly imitate the passions: by imitating dramatic speech, he interpreted the poet's imitation.[45]

This applies equally to the many *concertato* madrigals that I have described above as declamatory in character. Although, in describing the continuing use of madrigalian word-painting devices in late seventeenth-

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43. note in the 1660 book: "i madrigali...serviranno per cantarsi in fine di ciaschedun Concerto, essendo le parole d'essi dell'istessa materia, che così verranno à compire Cantate per Oratorij...".
44. Murata 1986: cf. Prunières 1946, 196.
45. Murata 1981, 99.

century Venetian opera, Olga Termini sees recitative as the obvious area for the madrigal's influence -

> The recitative ...is not a closed form but a style; therefore it is not bound by laws of musical form, only by the text. Innovative techniques could easily be incorporated into the recitative.[46]

- recitative, which became gradually more stereotyped and declamatory, and retained less and less of the flexible musical response to the text, is perhaps a less important area of innovation and influence than the *arioso*, operatic aria, and the chorus. Although recitative verse uses the same poetic metres as the madrigal, the latter had a considerable impact on the development of flexible but coherent musical forms employing other metres.

By 1739, when Mattheson completed *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, he saw the "madrigal style" as permeating every musical form - oratorios, Passions, aubades, serenades, cantatas, aria and recitative:

> ...der Madrigal-Styl gehöret sowohl [in der Kirche] als auf der Schaubühne, und in Sälen oder Zimmern zu Hause....alles hat dieser Styl unter seiner Gewalt. Ja, die Opern selbst sind lauter historische Madrigale.[47]

Mattheson's point can well be illustrated by looking at the madrigals of some of his contemporaries. Those of Antonio Caldara,[48] for example, are by no means unrepresentative of Caldara's style as seen in other genres - about as "antiquarian" as a Handel chorus - yet, apart from a more marked tonality and a greater tendency to divide into distinct movements, they are uncannily like *concertato* madrigals from the 1630s.

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46. Termini 1978, 17.
47. Mattheson 1739, 78: "the madrigal style belongs as much in church as on the stage, and in halls or rooms at home...this style has everything under its power. Yes, even operas themselves are nothing but narrative madrigals".
48. three, dated 1731 to 1732, are published in DTÖ vol. 75, 1932.

While the madrigal suffered a severe blow in the 1650s when Magni and Vincenti, its two major publishers, ceased their madrigal production,[49] it soon recovered sufficiently to find its way into a host of different social situations and musical contexts. References to the death or decline of the madrigal are therefore out of place: it may have withdrawn from the limelight, but it remained a useful forum for the development of ideas and techniques, and continued to make its influence felt for many decades to come.

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49. see above, 1: 62-64.

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Acta	*Acta Musicologica*
ADB	*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Historische Commission bei der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 56 vols. (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875-1912)
AnMc	*Analecta musicologica*
AMw	*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*
CHM	*Collectanea Historiae Musicae*
DBI	*Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 31 vols. to date (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1965-)
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Sidney Lee, 63 vols. & supplements (London: Smith. Elder & Co., 1885-1904)
EI	*Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*, Istituto Giovanni Treccani, later Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 36 vols. & supplements (Milano & Roma: Bestetti & Tumminelli, 1929-39)
EM	*Early Music*
EMH	*Early Music History*
GA	*Giornale araldico-genealogico-diplomatico italiano*
Grove 5	*Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed. Eric Blom, 9 vols. & supp. (London: Macmillan, 1954-1961)
JAMS	*Journal of the American Musicological Society*
JMP	*Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters*
JRMA	*Journal of the Royal Musical Association*
MD	*Musica Disciplina*
MGG	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, 14 vols. & supps & index (Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter, 1949-1986)
ML	*Music and Letters*
MQ	*Musical Quarterly*
MR	*Music Review*
NA	*Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*
NDB	*Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 15 vols. to date (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 1952-)
NG	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980)
NRMI	*Nuova rivista musicale italiana*
NV	Emil VOGEL, Alfred EINSTEIN, François LESURE, Claudio SARTORI, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700 (Il Nuovo Vogel)*, 3 vols. (Pomezia: Staderini, 1977)
OV	Emil VOGEL, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens aus den Jahren 1500-1700*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1892; *R* with additions by Alfred Einstein, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962) ["Old Vogel"]
PRMA	*Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*

RIM — *Rivista italiana di musicologia*

RISM — *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales vol. B.I/1, Recueils Imprimés XVIe-XVIIe siècles*, ed. François Lesure (München-Duisburg: G. Henle Verlag, 1960)

RMARC — *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*

S600 — *Studi secenteschi*

SIMG — *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*

SMw — *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*

TVNM — *Tijdschrift van der Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*

VfMw — *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*

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